The Forum

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"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL."

"Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small:

"Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small:

"But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

"For all that do such things, and all that do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the Lord thy God."—*Deuteronomy* xxv, *13–16*.

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed;

"To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!"—*Isaiah* x, *1–2*.

Of the various classes of crime that come under the category of theft none is more odious and despicable than the use of false weights and measures. Stamping a coin containing 371¼ grains of silver as of the weight of one hundred cents, while in truth it is of the weight of fifty-three cents, is a falsification of weights morally not distinguishable from stamping any other kind of weight as of two pounds which in truth is only of one pound. Only the methods by which the fraud is to be made effective are different. The thievish individual depends upon secret deceit, the qualities of the sneak thief; the Government on coercion, the qualities of the highwayman.

In the Chicago convention, the Democratic party, under the euphemism of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, has impudently emblazoned on its banner the demand that the Government of the United States shall issue false coins and force all

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persons to accept them as a "full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private." As the silver dollar thus coined would have about one half the value that it should have in order to be equal to gold, this is nothing else than a demand for universal pocket-picking. The mind is lost in wonder that politicians should hope to ride into power by means of this unexampled knavery combined with unparalleled folly. Nor has this demand any of the excuses which communism, or socialism, offers for its system of expropriation. It is not urged as the necessary means for the establishment of some novel and marvellous cooperative commonwealth; some Utopia where an all-powerful and all-benevolent state shall by the magic of its laws inaugurate an era of universal happiness. Production is to continue by the use of capital in private hands. The laborer is to continue to earn his wages by the sweat of his brow. Goods are to be bought and sold as they now are; money is to be loaned and borrowed; banks and bankers are to preserve their functions, and lawyers their professions.

For my part I believe that neither the voters at the primaries who instructed the delegates, nor the delegates who were instructed, had any conception of the frightful consequences of adopting the symbol "16 to 1" as the party shibboleth. I believe, too, that if the Chicago convention could be reconvened, it would hasten to undo all that it has done, in very shame of the crime and the folly of it. But it cannot meet again; it has pledged the party irrevocably to the advocacy of the right to steal.

The arguments, sophistically presented in the platform and in the speech of the candidate, are now to be rehashed to the honest voter in the hope that the side issues therein alluded to may lead him to forget the moral monstrousness of the main issue; and to the dishonest voter, in the hope that he will be allured by that very monstrousness. The honest voter is to be befogged by allusions to the Constitution in such a manner as to lead him to believe that that instrument prescribes the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; that our forefathers fought and bled in 1776 for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; that Great Britain has enslaved the world and rides triumphant over subject nations, having bribed them to desist from the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. No greater contempt was ever shown by any king, aristocrat, or plutocrat, for the intelligence of the people than the use of such and similar arguments. The Constitution is not a very voluminous production; it can be read in an hour. Only two sections relate, in any

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manner, to money—sections 8 and 10 of article 1, viz:—

"The Congress shall have power . . . to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures."

"No State shall . . . coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts. . . ."

The second of these is the foundation for the claim that gold and silver are Constitutional money. Comment on this claim is unnecessary. The present monetary system of the United States is based upon the other section which says nothing about gold or silver. Under it Congress has coined copper, nickel, and bronze and made them legal tender.

But it is not the question of coinage that is at issue: it is the question of the ratio at which the metals are to be coined, and in order to substantiate the claim that Congress has the right to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and force that coin upon the American people as a dollar, when its true value is not much more than half that sum, it is argued that under the authority to "regulate the value thereof," Congress has unlimited arbitrary power to make that value what it chooses. But with such a construction Congress would have power to stamp a single grain of silver, or of copper, or of iron, or a pebble, with the dollar mark, and make such a coin at its face value "full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private." The framers of the Constitution, when engaged in preparing the first law in pursuance of this section, did not for one moment conceive of such a possibility. It was taken as a matter of course that the ratio of the metals for coinage purposes should follow exactly the ratio of their respective bullion values in the markets of the world; and Alexander Hamilton, as first Secretary of the Treasury, went so far as to advocate that the United States establish agencies in the principal markets so as to follow closely any change in the relative values of the bullion, and accommodate the coinage ratio thereto. Moreover, Congress, by this section, has the right only to "regulate" the value of coins, while it is given power absolutely to "fix" the standard of weights and measures. If the right to regulate the value of coin gives Congress the power to declare a 50-cent, or a 25-cent, or a 1-cent coin equal to the value of one dollar, make it redemption money and legal tender for one dollar, it certainly has the right to declare six feet to be a yard or sixteen pecks to be a bushel. If it can authorize a debtor to appropriate to himself one half of the property of his creditor, or if it can compel a contractor to receive one half of the stipulated money in payment of his contract, it certainly can decree that those who have agreed to sell a bushel of

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wheat shall for the same money deliver sixteen pecks, or who have contracted to build a mile of railroad, for the same sum to build two miles. No despot in his wildest lust of power ever dared to impose so flagrant an abuse upon subject slaves. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Constitution, the safeguard of our liberties, confers upon any accidental majority or plurality of voters power to do what no despot would dare?

Nor can the spirit of 1776 be evoked in the cause of the swindle, as one might infer from the platform of the Democratic party of 1896. When the Washingtons, Hamiltons, and Jeffersons secured for us our independence from Great Britain, they never imagined for a moment that we should put it to the use of issuing false weights. Indeed the Revolution could not have aimed at "British gold-monometallism," inasmuch as the British did not adopt gold-monometallism until 1816,—forty years after the Declaration of our Independence. We had, in fact, preceded them by eleven years in that system, Jefferson having discontinued the coinage of silver in 1805. The jingo spirit which seems to animate the generation of 1896 was entirely absent from the generation who fought and bled for the independence of our country. They never dreamt for a moment of seeking to decree the abolition of the English language or in any other respect emphasize any antagonism against the mother country. Indeed, the founders of our institutions sought in every way to assimilate them to those of England. And in the very question of the ratio to be adopted in coining both gold and silver, they looked to her particularly for guidance. In his "Report" on the subject, as Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton said:—

> "The proportion of 1 to 15 is recommended by the particular situation of our trade as being very nearly that which obtains in the market of *Great Britain*, to which nation our specie is principally exported."

According to the lights of the Chicago neo-patriots, Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson were either traitors bought by British gold, or were of that low and cringing spirit which led them voluntarily to toady to the British plutocracy. For are not the requirements of honesty, or the laws of finance and trade, as rubbish compared with the necessity of annoying that plutocracy? Was not the war of the Revolution fought in vain if the free American cannot make a dollar out of anything he pleases, and compel his fellow citizen to take that dollar for past contracts at any value he chooses to imprint upon it?

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"Gold-monometallism," says the platform, "is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London." What an arraignment of the statesmen of nearly every civilized nation of the globe which either has adopted gold-monometallism or is about to adopt it! What traitors the Russian ministers of finance must be to have so persistently and strenuously worked to establish gold-monometallism for their country, if their end in view is simply to bring about financial servitude to London? What abject slaves Bismarck and his coadjutors, who, after their victory over France, immediately hastened to cringe to the British money-power by demonetizing silver? Even Venezuela vilely betrays us into the hands of its mortal enemy by subordinating its fortunes to the British gold-cornerers, who thus will obtain not only the control of the Orinoco Basin but of the entire Republic! Then there are France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Chili, and almost every other civilized nation of the globe,—all seized with the base passion of throwing themselves into the maws of these ogres.

But the very spectacle presented by those nations must lead even the shallowest thinker to the conclusion that they are convinced that obtaining the best money for themselves is a means of freedom and not of slavery. It was not for the purpose of subjecting, but of freeing themselves from the British or other "foreign powers and potentates," that those nations entered upon the policy of gold-monometallism, and spared no sacrifice to accomplish their purpose. For the man who has good money in his pocket can travel the world over, head erect, and needs ask odds from no one. It is the fellow with the debased currency seeking to circulate his light-weight coin who sneaks about for a chance to cheat somebody, or submits to be mulcted by the money-changer who buys that coin at its bullion value less a commission. Only those nations whose dollars are as good as any in the world are independent financially. All those which must content themselves with inferior dollars find the value of these changing from day to day according to the weight of the metal they contain, coined or uncoined. At present we are absolutely independent. But from the moment that our dollar is reduced to $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver, from that moment all our monetary affairs great and small, from those of the Government down to the peddler of shoe-strings, become dependent upon those dread "foreign powers and potentates"—the London bullion dealers. Then we shall feel a financial servitude far worse to bear than the ills from which we freed ourselves in 1776. And no

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war, however triumphant, can break the shackles of that servitude. We might conquer England, but never the bullion brokers. Not a pound of sugar or coffee or meat, not a pair of shoes or a hat could be bought and sold without subjection to their daily quotations.

The jingo arguments are chiefly addressed to the Irish voter,—the bone and sinew of our laboring population. By flaunting the flag marked "British" before his eyes, the hungry politicians expect to enrage him to such an extent that he will forget right and wrong and all dictates of self-interest in the pleasure of a fancied opportunity to twist the tail of the British lion. A most cunning plan this, under the allurement of apparently voting for the affranchisement of the United States from financial servitude to England, to entice him to vote for his own degradation. For on very casual analysis it is evident that the object of the movement which culminated in the Populist party, and which has finally absorbed the Democratic party, was to enrich the planter and farmer by securing good English gold for themselves, and paying poor American silver to their laborers. Years ago, when the movement took its rise, this object was frankly expounded to me by a southern landowner. He said:—

"The southern planter can never prosper until the country is put upon a silver basis, for the reason that his principal competition is with India, Egypt, and other silver countries. The producers of those countries have the advantage of paying their labor in a depreciated currency, and can therefore undersell us, who are compelled to pay our labor in gold. Our interest, therefore, is to establish bimetallism, as this means gold for ourselves and silver for our laborers."

Our laboring people, of other than Irish nationality, cannot be caught by the jingo cry. In the belief that their tendency is toward socialism they are to be hypnotized into voting for their own spoliation by the promise of a general attack on the so-called "money-lending classes," on "capital," and on "aggrandized wealth."

The proposed robbery of the creditor classes is defended on the ground that the demonetization of silver "without the knowledge or approval of the American people," resulted "in the appreciation of gold," and therefore in the robbery of the debtor class—the crime of 1873. The attack upon capital and wealth apparently needs no defence; the advantage of their destruction to the community being taken for granted.

Every schoolboy knows to-day that there was no "crime of 1873," that silver was never demonetized because it never had been monetized; the amount of silver dollars coined in the eighty years of the existence

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of the mint having only averaged about $100,000 per annum, and these having never gone into circulation. But, admitting the law of 1873 to have been a "crime," what then? Does this justify another crime in 1897? If Jones steals Brown's watch in 1897, can he defend himself on the ground that Smith stole Gray's watch in 1873?

According to the Chicago platform, the "crime" caused an appreciation of gold to the benefit of which the debtor is entitled. Of course, this whole story of appreciation of gold is a mere fable totally unworthy of consideration. But if it were true, how about debts contracted in 1894, when the silver dollar was worth only 45 cents. As to these should the debtor pay more than his debt? Only advocates of false balances could make one claim without the other, the distinction between mine and thine being lost to such advocates. Their motto seems to be, "What is thine is mine; and what is mine, is mine also."

And, taken altogether, what a crooked conception of lending and borrowing. He who borrows an article, be it money, or a horse, or a barrel of flour, becomes the absolute proprietor of it, and if the lender demand the return he becomes an oppressor and should be resisted by all legal means at hand! But by what hocus-pocus does the borrower become the proprietor of the borrowed object? And if the property does not pass to him, how can he wilfully refuse to return that which has been entrusted to him, without becoming a thief? The nature of his theft, indeed, is morally many degrees below that of a pickpocket or a burglar; for against the pickpocket or the burglar we arm ourselves; in the borrower we have confided, we have handed him the keys, we have trusted to his honesty and his honor. The refusal to return any property borrowed, because it has appreciated in value, is amazing in its outrageousness. A man hires a span of horses on the representation that they will perform a certain amount of work. They do twice as much work as was represented, *ergo*, he becomes the absolute owner of one of them!

An illustration of the practical working of this conception will reveal it in all its hideous deformity. About thirty years ago an employee in a business house took out an endowment policy in a life-insurance company in order to provide a fund sufficient for his old age. Times were frequently hard with him, and it was only by extreme prudence, by the foregoing of many comforts, and indulging in few pleasures, that he has been able to pay his premiums with regularity. In 1897 he is at last to obtain the sum which he has saved for a generation. Imagine his alarm at the prospect that the success of the

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Democratic party at the next election will cheat him of one half of his own and leave him to finish his life in penury. The argument of the appreciation of gold thus applied to cheat this poor creditor can only be characterized as fiendish.

The Chicago platform is aimed at the "money-lending" classes. The case cited shows us one of those lenders—a poor man, and yet a steady lender to a single borrower for thirty years. The Chicago platform pretends to pity the poor—yet it would swindle this poor man unconscionably. And for whose benefit?—for the benefit of a corporation owning over $100,000,000, one of the typical cases of "aggrandized wealth." But not only is it true that debtors may be rich and creditors poor, but it follows from the very fact that a person has been in a position to be a debtor,—that is, to have obtained credit,—he cannot be counted among the poor, so that even a casual examination shows that creditors and debtors are not synonymous with rich and poor.

For who in the main are the "poor" debtors that are to be protected against the money-lending classes by the election of the Democratic candidates? The principal one is the United States Government itself—the very criminal of 1873 which is now to rely upon its own crime as a defence for defrauding its creditors.

In 1878 it borrowed a vast amount of gold for the purpose of enabling its Treasury to redeem its paper. Again in 1895 and 1896, long after gold had ceased to appreciate, it borrowed further immense sums in gold for the purpose of being enabled to continue the redemption not only of its paper, but also of its token, half-weight, silver money. These bonds were made payable in coin, and not specifically in gold, as at the time of their authorization there was no other coin than gold with which to pay. The idea of coining half-weight silver dollars and forcing them into circulation as full-weight dollars was not yet conceived, and no doubt if any financier had then suggested that some day the United States Government might make such an attempt, and had thus cast a foul aspersion on the honor and integrity of the nation, he would have been branded as a traitor. However, twelve years later, such suggestions had been so frequently made by the advocates of silver coinage that they caused some uneasiness, and Congress took care to dispel this by incorporating into the act authorizing the purchase of silver bullion a solemn statement that:—

"It is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other, upon the present legal ratio, or at such ratio as may be established by law."

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This pledge is again solemnly reasserted in the act repealing the silver purchases, and is therein made even more emphatic:—

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as the standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and unchangeable value, this equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will ensure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts."

And now the Chicago platform, in its care for the oppressed poor, advocates that our government shall brand itself a liar, demands that it coin a half-weight silver dollar that cannot and shall not be kept at parity with the gold dollar, and that the interest of its bonds as well as their principal shall be paid in those half-weight coins.

But why stop at this half-way measure? Do not the Democratic lawyers know that the United States Government cannot be sued for having obtained money on false representations or for any other causes, that in no court of justice can a judgment be obtained against it, that it is not subject to execution, nor to supplementary proceedings? Why continue a useless expenditure, particularly as the loss of its honor and its credit will be just as complete whether it pay half or nothing? The State governments also are in an extremely advantageous position as debtors. Like the United States they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts, and as their credit will not survive that of the United States, why should they not keep their money as well? As a very tower of strength the Democratic party will appear to the debt-ridden railroads. Though never before was the heart of a Populist or even a Democratic politician tender to these engines of oppression, yet in the era of general riddance of the money-lenders they too will be absolved from paying any of their debts. The faculty extended to them to pay in half-weight coins will have so marked an effect on the other half, that it may be left out of consideration.

Another category of debtors is the national banks. Of them, too, it may be said that they have never before engaged the sympathy of the Populist or Democratic politician, but they will come in for their full share in this great act of public benevolence. So will the life-insurance companies, savings institutions, the building and loan associations, the great industrial corporations, and the great mass of the well-to-do bankers, landowners, merchants, manufacturers,—all enslaved by "the money-lending class at home and abroad," whom the new declaration of liberty of the Chicago platform is to emancipate.

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Now, let us see who are the money-lenders against whom the Chicago platform issues its anathemas—the creditors, oppressors, who suck the life-blood of the nation! First and foremost, the most exacting and privileged of them all, we find the United States Government, —the greatest creditor as well as the greatest debtor of the country: after it the State governments, and the municipalities. They contract with the people of the United States to manage their national, State, county, and municipal affairs, to protect them in times of war against an external foe, in times of peace against internal foes, to establish justice, and in general permit everybody to go about his business free from molestation, secure in the property which he may have legitimately acquired. In return for these advantages the people owe them the payment of taxes, national, State, and municipal, and in the collection of these no creditors are more exacting.

Next we find the railroads which carry the goods of the people of the United States from one end to the other upon credit, relying upon the honest payment of these debts when due in order to meet their own obligations.

Then we have the banks, national and State, incorporated and private, and other institutions of the same character which re-lend the funds loaned to them throughout the country. Then we come to the vast number of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, who utilize the capital loaned them by extending credits on their part to others of their own class, or to the people at large. Side by side with this great array of creditors who are at the same time debtors, we find another array of creditors who are not debtors to any appreciable extent. Among these first and foremost are the hospitals and all charitable institutions, universities and endowed schools, which carry on their beneficent work for the most part by means of loans made from the funds in their possession.

Not inferior to them in importance is the immense aggregation of capital held by the estates of deceased persons which supports the widows and orphans of the land. Next we have the army and navy of the United States, the bulwark of our liberties against foes from without and the maintenance of public tranquillity within. Then the civil-servants, the persons engaged in the administration of justice, the police, and the pensioners of the United States. Next the immense number of persons having salaried employments, whose salaries are fixed by contract; and lastly all the wage-earners, every one of whom is a creditor not only to the extent of the wages he earns from week to

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week, but in so far as he is a depositor in a savings-bank or is a member of a loan association or other fraternal body, or owns a life-insurance policy.

These are the "money-lending class at home and abroad" who are to be swindled forsooth, and justly, says the Chicago platform, because through them we are suffering from "prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people." These are the holders of the "aggregate wealth" of the country, whose encroachments we are told to resist. These are the "idle hands" which have amassed the "idle capital."

Idle capital! As if there could be any idle capital! We might as well speak of our life's blood as idle! For the capital of a modern nation is its life's blood. As the blood circulating unceasingly through the veins and arteries of the natural body, not only preserves its existence, but, by the very regularity of its flow, maintains every muscle and every organ in health and strength and equal to its functions—so the circulation of capital in a modern nation preserves the life of the body politic, enables it to provide food, raiment, shelter, and to perform all the functions necessary to a strong, healthy, and growing national life.

Aggregate wealth! How the phrase rolls in the mouths of the evil-minded corrupted by loathsome envy. And yet it acts not otherwise for the body politic than the human heart for the physical body. From thousands and thousands of minute blood-vessels, the life-giving liquid is impelled onward into the veins and arteries, constantly increasing in magnitude, until they pour out their aggregated fluid through the heart for the purpose of being there distributed so that its beneficent effects shall be felt in the humblest vessels of the extremities, giving health, strength, and growth to the entire body. So do the little savings of the poor, the profits small and great of the rich, pour into the great arteries of the circulation of capital, the banks, the savings-banks, the trust companies, the life- and fire-insurance companies, until they aggregate their thousands of millions, and then through the financial heart of the nation are again distributed until they reach the very extremities of the social body, giving life, sustenance, and growth to the entire social fabric.

How marvellous are the workings of a modern civilized state! The laborer saving ever so little from his modest wages, thinks not of hoarding it uselessly in his chest, but carries what he does not need to his savings-bank, to his building association, to his fraternal society. The clerk who manages to earn a little above the requirements of his

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family, opens an account in a bank, or takes out a life-insurance policy. The poor widow loans to the landlord, so that he may utilize the money in the building of a factory; the merchant loans his profits to a railroad, so that it may construct new lines, and improve existing ones; the banks, the savings-banks, the insurance companies, the bankers, loan to the Government, States, and municipalities. The interest on all these investments in their turn sustains the laborer in his old age, after his death saves his widow and orphans from starvation, maintains the banks, the life-insurance companies, the charitable and educational institutions; and all the surplus of that interest above the immediate needs of any of the parts of the body politic is reinvested, and again converted into capital to circulate, sustain, and invigorate the whole as before.

And marvellous as is this spectacle from an economic point of view, it is still grander as an ethical phenomenon. The laborer carries his all to the savings institution, receiving for it nothing in return beyond an entry in a bank-book. The head of the family by payment of life-insurance premiums, casts his bread on the water knowing that it never will be returned to him during his lifetime, but happy in the unquestioning consciousness that it will provide for his wife and little ones after he is gone. The banks loan their thousands and tens of thousands to the merchants on this mere promise to pay. The Crœsus gives his millions to the Government, to the States, to the railroads, with no desire for repayment, satisfied with a promise of a yearly revenue in the form of a modest percentage. And thus the spirit which sets and keeps in motion all this circulation, which keeps alive the social fabric, is credit—a synonym for trust, confidence, honesty, and honor. Its soul is the one commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

What pen, then, could picture the desolation of this country if the advocates of false weights and universal theft should be victorious at the polls; if the flag of the Lord on which is inscribed trust, confidence, honesty, and honor be hauled down, and the black flag of the Chicago Democracy be hoisted in its place? They tell us that we should have prosperity. They might as well prate of prosperity in Hell. They tell us that the country needs more money, though it be counterfeit, and that the greater quantity of metal in use will enrich us. More money! Inflation! But the most besotted fool must perceive that money will not be increased by a debasement of the currency, by means of which $500,000,000 of gold become twice as valuable without the coin stamp of the United States than with it, and will be

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driven out of circulation! By means of which simultaneously almost the entire amount of our paper currency will be reduced to half its value! By means of which every deposit in the banks of the country, every note of hand now utilized as money will at one fell swoop lose half its value!

And this frightful destruction of money and of the substitutes of money would be supplemented by a still more frightful destruction of credit. If the soul of the social fabric is credit,—trust, confidence, honesty, honor—if its frame shudders when it is subjected to an isolated germ of dishonesty,—if a bank cashier absconds or a railroad president tampers with the securities of his company,—what will come of it when the Government itself not only boasts itself a fraudulent bankrupt, but enacts laws by which every monied institution, every great corporation, every manufacturer, and every merchant shall be compelled to cheat their creditors? It will be paralyzed into the semblance of death. The misery which will ensue will stand unparalleled in the annals of history. Money has been debased before, but not suddenly, wilfully, and impudently in any community of modern times. The practice was not unknown in the Middle Ages before the era of capitalistic production, when each community was a little world to itself; when every manor had its farms, its mechanics, its smiths, its spinners and weavers, its miller, its tannery, and its granaries,—when the interchange of commodities was in kind; when—money or no money—the dwellers in each little community were sufficient unto themselves for food, and for raiment, and for the necessities of life. But to-day in our great land, with 70,000,000 inhabitants, we have in fact only one community. The wheat of Dakota is made into flour in Minnesota, and sold by the corner grocer in New York. The ranches of Wyoming furnish the tables of Boston. We are inter-dependent in a manner utterly unknown in bygone ages, and we have, by the very reliance on our inter-dependence, accustomed ourselves to live from hand to mouth. Private granaries and stores have ceased to exist. The butcher and the grocer, like the ice- and milk-man, supply us from day to day. The wealthiest as well as the poorest have no heed to prepare for the morrow. No pen can describe what our condition would be if general credit, upon which the very bringing of these provisions to our doors depends, were suddenly destroyed. No earthquake that should swallow up half of our country would be comparable to it in the wretchedness it would bring upon us.

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If the Democratic party should be victorious, our Government would thereby announce its fraudulent bankruptcy. Simultaneously our community would lose its ability to pay taxes, all imports suddenly ceasing. Borrow the Government could not, for no one would lend; even if the Administration were not bound by the platform to issue no bonds in time of peace, it could not raise money for no one would trust it. Then all Government employees, and with them the employees of the States and the municipalities, the judges, the police, the army, the navy, and the pensioners, would have their means of subsistence cut off at once. The general paralysis of business would at the same time cause the stopping of all factories, shut down all mills, close all avenues of useful employment. Famine, compared with which all those of which history has a record would appear as plenty, would reign throughout the land. Fathers would witness their families suffering the pangs of hunger, and nowhere to look for food. Thousands and tens of thousands would perish in the agonies of starvation. Desolation would spread from one end to the other of the country. The Government could give no succor. The paper money which it would hurry to issue would, like the note of any fraudulent bankrupt, be utterly worthless. Its promise to pay would be deemed a hollow mockery. In vain would we look for help toward foreign nations. A dynamiter mutilated by his own bomb can hardly expect sympathy. A pirate sailing under the black flag can expect no aid. The days of the Republic would not be lengthened in this land. We cannot be an abomination to the Lord and live.

But we are not a nation of pirates. We shall not hoist the black flag. The honest people of this fair land will rise in their might on the third of November and by an overwhelming majority demonstrate that we have not erroneously been counted among the civilized. But it is not enough that the majority should be overwhelming. On the present issue there should be unanimity, for it is not an issue concerning which, when understood, honest men should differ. It should never have arisen. But in order to insure a true expression of all voters on that issue we must give all an opportunity to know its essence, and, to do this, every man and woman who has had this opportunity must make himself instructor of those who have not had it. Every man and every woman should enlist in this work of salvation so that the West, the East, the South, the North, shall unite without distinction of party or political creed, and with one voice proclaim

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to the world that the United States does not lag behind its sister-nations in civilization.

Particularly, at this grave juncture those whose voices carry weight beyond their own immediate circles, all depositories of the money of the poor, from the great life-insurance companies to the humble lodge, all employers of labor, from the great railroad corporations to the modest shop, should make it their business that no one remains ignorant and thus unwittingly do wrong.

Every citizen of every State should see to it that not one star should be soiled in the galaxy of our flag. The inhabitant of every county, every city, every hamlet should preserve from keen degradation the place of his home so that in after years it may not be pointed out and shunned as a place which could not be trusted; as a place where they decree unrighteous decrees, where the widows are their prey, and where they rob the fatherless.

So let us welcome the issue. Let us welcome the opportunity of ridding our system from the poisonous germs which have for years undermined its health; and when that poison shall be utterly thrown off, when, with returning free circulation of the life-blood of our social fabric, we shall regain our pristine strength and health, we shall not only be purified, but with that purification shall come a mutual understanding of all classes of the people of our country. For this crisis has revealed, as has never before been thought possible, how intimately we are dependent upon each other, how necessarily one can only thrive through the other, how the suffering of one is the suffering of the other, and the prosperity of one the prosperity of the other. And it will make plain to the humblest understanding that this country is large enough, great enough, and wealthy enough in its illimitable resources to procure for all the satisfaction of all reasonable wants so long as we maintain inviolate our honesty and our honor.

ISAAC L. RICE.

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ENCOURAGEMENTS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

MANY communications have come to me regarding an open letter which I recently addressed "To Patriotic Democrats." Most of these communications commend its statements and proposals, some seriously oppose them, and a few are comical in the effort to be abusive.

The charges of my hostile critics are mainly three.

First,—that I sympathize with the monopolist oppressors and care nothing for the down-trodden farmers. This, of course, is grossly unjust. I have long opposed every sort of oppressors and taught others to oppose them; and a deep sympathy with the men who suffer by the present depression was my strongest motive in writing the letter. For I saw that those now suffering, and above all the farmers, need mainly two things; first, a revival of industry giving a better demand for their products; second, cheaper capital for the adjustment of their debts and the development of their resources. My first objection to the Chicago leaders and platform is, that they would wreck every chance of meeting either of these needs.

The second of these charges is, that I applied the terms "anarchist" and "socialist" to sundry leaders in the Chicago convention, and to sundry planks in its platform. I still maintain that these terms are just; that they are not epithets, but statements of fact.

My sufficient warrant for the first of them is the career of Governor Altgeld,—one of the triumvirate which controlled the convention,—including his open sympathy with anarchist dynamiters and rioters; and the subserviency of the convention to his will, shown by the bid in its platform for anarchist support;—especially the menace to the Supreme Court, and the proposal to remove the only effective barrier to control, by city mobs, over the transit of the United States mails.

My sufficient warrant for the second of these terms is the career and influence of another in the controlling triumvirate,—Governor Tillman, who, with various subordinate leaders, including the candidate, evidently favors the unlimited emission of fiat money, the absorption of all the greater enterprises now left to individual initiative and competition, and the management of the whole by officials at Washington. All this is essentially and thoroughly socialistic.

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But the third charge of my critics is more curious; for the passage in my open letter which seems to have stirred especial wrath was its reference to a scene in the French Revolution. To explain that passage, and to introduce the main line of thought in this article, I trust that my reader will allow me to give the reason why the scene referred to—the spectacle of the Jacobin Club—occurred to me while reading accounts of the recent so-called "Democratic" convention in Chicago.

Like many other men of my time, I have long felt an intense interest in the experiment of self-government which our nation is making. No other subject has ever interested me so deeply. As a student and teacher of history, this has been a main source and centre of my thought, study, and instruction; and I believe that this effort at self-government, whether successful or unsuccessful, will seem to the future historian by far the most important thing in the history of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

As a young man, looking anxiously into the future to find what it might have in store for my country, and bearing in mind the great rule of every true historian,—"To-morrow is the disciple of yesterday,"—various periods in human history greatly attracted me; but the French revolutionary epoch had a special fascination, as displaying political thinking and political passion in their greatest variety and intensity. So strong was its hold upon me that so soon as I became my own master I went to Paris and gave myself up to the study of it.

At that time—something more than forty years ago—there still remained much of revolutionary France, and many men who had known those who took part in the great struggle and in the despotic reaction which followed it. The coffee house from which Camille Desmoulins led the mob which destroyed the Bastille; the marble seats on which the "Ancients" sat while training youth to serve the Republic; the Cordelier Club room in which Danton justified the murder of aristocrats; the fountain beside which Robespierre advocated the extirpation of all who were more or less extreme than himself; the prisons whence Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were dragged to the scaffold; the altar on which the Goddess of Reason was enthroned and before which Bonaparte was crowned;—all these were within the circuit of my daily walks. Both then and later I had good guides, and by far the best of them in pointing out and discussing the less known scenes was a man who, within a few weeks has passed away, full of years and honors—Jules Simon, whose long services as professor, senator, academician, minister, and prime minister, great as they were, were

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as nothing compared to the steady influence of his character and his writings in behalf of right reason during various wild epochs through which his country had passed. At various times I talked with men who had heard the great Jacobins in the Assemblies and Clubs; who had seen the guillotine "*en permanence*"; who had taken part in the "purified worship of the Supreme Being"; civilians who had seen Napoleon, and soldiers who had won his recognition in some of his greatest battles. It was also my good fortune then, and at a later period, not only to read the writings of public men who had studied these scenes, but to talk with some of them, and of these I recall vividly Thiers, Henri Martin, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and Laboulaye. Surrounding myself with the documents, pamphlets, and newspapers of the period, collecting masses of original matter which threw light upon it—*lettres de cachet*, certificates of civism, tickets of safety, famine tickets, club tickets, death-warrants, caricatures, street posters, and especially examples of its innumerable issues of fiat money,—I virtually lived in the revolutionary period, and have at various times since lived in it as at several universities I have sought to make young men understand its lessons; and especially the greatest lesson of all: the necessity of substituting in human progress healthful growth for violent change—evolution for revolution.

Naturally these scenes and lessons sank deeply into my mind. Allowing for all differences between races and epochs, there remain certain unmistakable similarities between the workings of human nature under similar circumstances in different nations, and some of these workings of human nature came to me vividly as I read the doings of the Chicago convention.

There on the floor I seemed to see that old Jacobin tragi-comedy: the same advocates of every extreme principle and extreme want of principle, outbidding each other for the applause of the galleries; the same demagogues, vilifying those who were laboring most faithfully to serve the country; the same fanatics ready to plunge their country in ruin to vindicate their nostrums; the same declaimers stirring hatred between different sections of the country; the same sensation-mongers arousing distrust between the men whose cooperation is necessary to the national peace and prosperity; and withal the same body of thinking men, dazed by the tumult, stunned by the noise, silent in an orgy of unreason.

There, too, in the vast galleries was the same crowd of unbalanced men and hysterical women in ecstasies over statements more and more

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extreme; discouraging the reasoners, deifying the phrase-mongers, proposing thus to develop the activity and direct the policy of a great nation.

There was Camille Desmoulins—"The Boy Orator"—beautiful, mellifluous; floor and galleries hanging on his stock phrases and as delighted to call him their leader as they were delighted later on to send him to the guillotine;—when they had discovered his hollowness.

There, too, were far worse types: Barrère, Barras, Tallien, and the rest, exploiting credulity and encouraging anarchy; in the hope of picking place or pelf from the ruins.

For I noted that the permanent chairman at Chicago was a lawyer who had been the attorney of corporations such as he now affected to denounce. I noted that a strong impelling force was supplied by sundry Senatorial "Silver Kings" who proposed to unload the produce of their mines upon the country at twice its value. I noted that a certain Senator and a certain Governor who had most to do, openly or secretly, with pressing on the business, were both capitalists who were and are in the habit of exacting, by special contracts, payment from their tenants and debtors in gold.

And I noted, finally, that while they gave the first place on their ticket to an elocutionary attorney whose gifts and graces had been at the service of any corporations willing to pay the moderate fee required to secure them; they gave the second place to a banker and manager of eastern railways and steamer lines, who had grown rich in practising the arts and conniving at the schemes which the convention affected to condemn.

Then it was that there rose before me Fouché, Cambacérès, and other Jacobin extremists, who, having begun their career by advocating every wild scheme, and having ridden into power on the storm they had raised, received the fruit of their labors after their dupes had perished by millions, and treasure had been thrown into the abyss by billions. These controlling spirits at Chicago seemed to me essentially of the same breed with those who, having begun as "friends of the people," ended as lackeys of Bonaparte, bearing gorgeous titles, richly endowed with spoils torn from their fellow-subjects. Making due allowance for differences in time, place, and circumstance, it seemed the old, old story: a large body of honest, well-meaning men brought by schemers between the upper mill-stone of partisanship and the nether mill-stone of fanaticism.

Some of my correspondents have tried to get me out of this frame of mind. One assures me that he sees in sundry leaders of the recent

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convention, not a reappearance of those French architects of ruin, but a reincarnation of Abraham Lincoln and William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown. But I see a fatal difference. What should we have thought in 1860 of Lincoln had we discovered that he was even capable of becoming an attorney for the hunters of fugitive slaves? What would we have thought of Garrison had we found him deriving an income from rearing slaves? What would we have thought of John Brown had we learned that he was interested in the interstate slave trade? We should have thought of them then, just as sane men must think now of men who try to climb into power by denouncing ostensibly the corporations they serve secretly; or who urge legislation forbidding contracts in any metal save silver, while they refuse to receive their rents or interest in any metal save gold.

Despite then these suggestions of my correspondents, as I read the proceedings at Chicago, I recall those revolutionists at Paris who initiated the long series of sterile revolutions not yet ended; who thwarted all real efforts at rational reform; who brought in misery infinitely worse than that which they pretended to remedy, and despotism infinitely worse than that which they pretended to oppose. Their speeches come back to me with a strangely familiar sound; especially as I hear these men of to-day clamoring for fiat silver and foreshadowing fiat paper. I seem to hear Martineau demanding the emission of the first four hundred millions of *assignats*, and showing that such money is the best, "because it reposes on the will of the people." I seem to hear Mirabeau, who had only six months before spoken of fiat money as "a nursery of tyranny, corruption, and delusion; a veritable debauch of authority in delirium," advocating the very measure he had thus opposed. I seem to hear Gouy, a little later, advocate what he calls "one single operation—grand, simple, magnificent," which was the emission of twenty-four hundred millions more. Royer rises before me, insisting on the necessity of issuing five thousand millions more, and then the long line of demagogues, successful in pressing on the issues of billions more of fiat money, declaring it "the best currency in the world," insisting that the laws of nature did not operate in a free country like France, ascribing the rapid depreciation of this fiat money, and the wreck of business, to the corruption of the ministry, the perversity of merchants, the machinations of bankers, the intrigues of England,—to every cause save the right one.

I seem to hear Prudhomme declaring,—"Coin will go on rising until the people have hung a broker," and Couthon, first carrying a

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law punishing any person selling paper money for less than its nominal value with imprisonment for twenty years in chains, and next a law punishing those making investments abroad with death. I seem to hear the same demagogues who, when farmers refused to sell their produce for worthless fiat money, carried laws which obliged the farmers under pains and penalties to bring in their grain, the millers to grind it, and the merchants to sell it.

And all this financial debauch going on until the entire issue of fiat money had reached close upon forty thousand millions of francs, with the result that all thrift had been obliterated, all business vitiated, the working classes plunged into abject distress; the country given over to an aristocracy of stock-gamblers and money-changers; until finally a Bonaparte was needed to force the nation back to sound money. And I note that on July 16, 1796,—a hundred years, almost to a day, before the assembling of the convention at Chicago,—the whole fiat-money system in France collapsed, and the vast mass of thirty-six thousand millions of *assignats*, and two and a half thousand millions of *mandats*, issued "under the sanction of a free people," all became refuse and were swept into the dust heap together.[1]

All this panorama seemed to unroll before me as I looked upon that convention. But not at all because I expected these results here and now. Though they are the logical results of utterances and doctrines like those of Governor Waite, Senator Tillman, Governor Altgeld, and other men dominant at Chicago, I do not expect to see them realized in this Republic. For while there is a striking likeness between the workings of human nature then and now, there are sundry enormous differences, and some of these differences I now wish especially to show, in order to encourage patriotic and thoughtful men of both the old parties to unite and do their duty in this crisis.

While it is evident that we had at Chicago much the same everlasting breed of demagogues, phrase-peddlers, sensation-mongers, retailers of hollow oratory, shrewd self-seekers, and architects of ruin generally, who proved such a curse to France, another truth is no less evident, and that is, that we have some things which France had *not*, and therein lies a difference as great as it is encouraging. I shall try briefly to point out a few of these things, and to show the good use which can now be made of them.

[1] I have treated this subject at length and in detail in an essay published by D. Appleton & Co., New York,—"Fiat Money in France. How it came, what it brought, and how it ended."

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The great wars of religion, and especially the massacres carried out by various country and city mobs in the sixteenth century, and worst of all, the will of a vast illiterate majority carried out by Louis XIV in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the seventeenth century, had virtually rooted out the substantial, thoughtful, middle-class in France, which could be relied upon to resist revolution and to promote reform. That class—"the plain people," as Abraham Lincoln called them,—the rank and file of all political parties,—who not only love their country, but seriously reflect upon its needs; who are not given to ecstatics or hysterics; who do not purpose to follow Governor Altgeld in delivering over their country to mobs; who do not yield to Governor Waite's threats of bloodshed; who do not purpose to overturn the institutions and enterprises of their country, as Governor Tillman would turn over a pile of offal with his pitchfork; but who soberly think upon public issues;—this class has never been destroyed in this country. On the contrary, our institutions have steadily increased its numbers and developed its power. It is now here; here to stay; here to discuss and profit by the discussion of great questions on which the life of the country depends; here to restrain dreamers, fanatics, cranks, or plotters from destroying this government, either with the honest hope of curing temporary evils, or with the dishonest expectation of profiting by an overturn. Here is a fundamental difference between France at the end of the last century, and the United States at the end of this, and it is a difference immensely in favor of a right decision in the present crisis.

There is another difference in our favor. The French, quick-witted as they were, had not then had our experience of demagogues and fanatics. They took them at their face value;—or rather at their tongue value. But our people have learned the turns and tricks of these gentlemen. They applaud them, indeed, as they would applaud any other mountebanks; but the sober second thought comes in to check belief that at the waving of their wand real bread can be miraculously created, or real money miraculously multiplied. This fact the greenback advocates learned in 1878.

There is still another encouraging difference between the old revolutionary France and our own country at the beginning of the present revolutionary attempt; a difference yet more in favor of our people. In France the whole body of farmers and working men had probably everything to gain by a revolution: here they have certainly everything to lose. There were there and then none of those widespread

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instrumentalities for developing thrift among all classes of people, and for guarding its results, which give so firm an anchorage to our institutions. Here and now we have these instrumentalities, and they constitute a vast popular conservative force arrayed against everything likely to bring a crash or panic or stoppage of business, and especially against any financial legerdemain which proposes to make people rich by palming off cheap money upon them.

Nearly five million people in the United States have deposits in savings-banks. A million and a half have interests in State banks, private banks, and trust companies. Close upon two millions of people have deposits in national banks. Very nearly two millions have interests in building and loan associations. Three and a half millions of people have put money into various mutual-benefit, cooperative, and fraternal associations. Close upon seven millions of people have put money into various industrial companies. Many millions more hold policies of insurance against fire or accident, and such vast numbers are interested in life-insurance investments that there are more than ten million policies now outstanding issued by New York companies alone, and these touch directly or indirectly twenty-five millions of people.[1] Here is a "creditor class" indeed, and one of which old revolutionary France never dreamed.

To these quotations from the latest reports may be added a summary made by the present Secretary of the Treasury:—

"The banks, trust companies, building associations, and other similar institutions owe the people of the United States to-day more than five thousand millions of dollars for money actually deposited, a sum nearly eight times greater than the total capital of all the national banks in the country, while the life-insurance policies held by the people in the various kinds of corporations and associations and in force to-day amount to more than ten thousand millions of dollars; a larger sum than has been actually invested in all our railroads and about fifteen times larger than the capital of all the national banks."

Here is a "debtor class" indeed. France in 1792 was not so fortunate as to possess it. When all these people who have deposits or interests in these institutions find that what the Chicago platform means, is that all these institutions into which they have put all these billions of dollars are to repay them, instead of the gold dollars they put in, each worth one hundred cents, silver dollars worth at best only somewhere between

[1] See the recent open letter of Mr. McCall, President of the New York Life Insurance Company.

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forty and seventy cents; and when these depositors realize that the nominee and the leading spirits in the so-called "Democratic" and Populist conventions clearly point the way to final payments in paper dollars worth nothing at all; there will be a force arrayed against those platforms which will, in my judgment, not only bury them, but all who framed them or even advocate them.

The duty of thinking men of both the old parties is to bring these simple facts home to every member of this vast creditor class.

But this is by no means all. It has been supposed that the desire of farmers and others to pay off mortgages with a debased currency might lead them to support the Chicago platform. But apart from such an imputation of dishonesty to great numbers of our fellow-citizens, one thing seems to have been forgotten, and that one thing is that probably two thirds of these mortgages are past due; that they may be foreclosed at any time, and that in all States where law prevails they certainly will be foreclosed between the coming third of November and fourth of March, if the Chicago nominee shall be elected. Then, too, there are all those relying on pensions and fixed incomes from small investments and salaries, which, under the operation of the Chicago platform, would be reduced by about one half. Here, then, are additional millions of men and women to whose plain interests an appeal can be made which not one in a thousand of them can disregard if they are made to understand it. Let demagogues of every sort stir their hatred for the moment: their sober second thought, like that of all the small capitalists above referred to, can be relied upon in a struggle for justice. This is another encouraging difference between the ground in which the French Jacobins planted their doctrines in 1792, and that which American revolutionists hope to plough, sow, and reap in 1896.

Closely connected with this is another difference no less encouraging. In the France of that period there was little of the business instinct; but here and now that instinct is a factor widespread and efficient. This is true not only of our mercantile class and its myriads of employees; it is no less effective in several vast bodies of salaried working men which did not then exist. Of these take for example the army of those engaged in the railway service. It is spread throughout the country; its members are generally men of intelligence, many of high intelligence. They are trained to quick observation and decisive thinking. If patriotic men do their duty how long will it take this vast body of men to see the significance of the fact that the more

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successful railways even now rarely earn above 4 or 5 per cent, and that the average dividend of them all is less than 1 per cent;—that the unlimited coinage of silver must force them to pay probably double rates for the bulk of their supplies while they are in various ways hindered from raising their prices for conveying freight and passengers? What chance will all these employees have of securing a large advance or indeed any advance of wages?

So too with the additional army of city and village railway employees. They must be paid out of the little silver and nickel coins received for fares; but what chance of increased wages when the purchasing power of these coins is reduced by about one half?

If the sound-money party does its duty in enlightening the simple business instinct of all these employees they may be relied upon against the proposed revolution;—and so too of vast numbers of other employees South as well as North, West as well as East.

And there is yet another great difference between that revolution and this now attempted. No declamations of mob orators can long conceal it. In France there was a caste, aristocratic by birth, separated by a wide and deep abyss from the producers of the country; a caste of about one hundred and fifty thousand, which regarded men engaged in trade or tillage or labor of any sort, whether of their hands or brains—in fact all others of the twenty-four millions of their fellow-subjects of the French Crown—as essentially different from themselves, and possessed of no rights which they were bound to respect. Say what men will of capitalists, no such condition of things exists in the United States. Nearly all the great capitalists have themselves been working men; indeed, a majority of them are working men still; and there is no thinking capitalist who can fail to have a fellow-feeling for men belonging to the ranks in which he once stood himself. I believe that the great majority of those once known as working men, but now known as capitalists, have a far deeper sympathy with working men than any of the tonguey demagogues who flourished at the Chicago convention have, or can have.

The interest of the capitalist is to promote the prosperity which gives him his oppportunity; the interest of a demagogue is to perpetuate the distress which gives him *his* opportunity. It is reasonable to believe that the vast majority of capitalists feel deeply with the agriculturists of the West and South who are now suffering from low prices, and would gladly do everything in their power to promote wise measures which will revive industry and advance prosperity. I

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have no special affection for great capitalists. I have more than once denounced the shortcomings of some of them and the short-sightedness of many of them. My chosen life-work has been mainly among the sons of men of small means, or of no means at all, and I have done what I could to make them, not pelf-gripers, but good servants of their country. No one can loathe more than I those capitalists who owe their fortunes to robbery, and no one can have a greater contempt for rich men who seek to thrust themselves among foreign aristocrats, to intermarry with them, or to ape their manners. No one can more heartily despise rich men whose one question is, how much money they can spend on themselves. But to denounce all alike, and especially those who by their great operations have brought the charges for transporting persons and products far lower than they are even in countries where railways, mines, and various manufactories are owned and managed by the government,—far lower, indeed, than in any other country in the world; who have improved and cheapened our manufacturing products beyond anything ever known until now; who have increased enormously by their invention, their foresight, their powers of organization, both the demand for labor and the remuneration for it; who have employed their general capital in upholding great enterprises in time of adversity, and in developing new opportunities for labor in time of prosperity; who have lavished their surplus capital in founding every sort of institution for the care, the comfort, the pleasure, the uplifting of the people at large: denunciation of these men is gross injustice. No other country shows such a line of benefactors, who having been, most of them, first working men, and afterward capitalists, have made donations more than princely—yea, more than kingly—for the benefit of their fellow men of all conditions. George Peabody, Peter Cooper, Johns Hopkins, Vassar, Cornell, Stanford, Sibley, Pratt, Case, Tulane, Packer, Purdue, Rose, Lick, Drexel; —these names are but a few out of the long list of patriotic, labor-loving capitalists—to say nothing of the great number of munificent public benefactors now living—such as no other country can show. These are the men who it is claimed are outdone in love of the working man, in love of country, and in appreciation of public necessities, by Altgeld, Waite, Peffer, Simpson, Tillman, and their like. These are they who especially have enabled us to see what we see about us every day: the son of the working man rising above the son of the capitalist not only by the force of character, and ability, but by every opportunity for advanced education. To abuse them all,

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because some old rich men are grasping, and some young rich men dissipated, is unworthy of any thoughtful working man.

But these railway owners, bankers, manufacturers, mine owners, are far from being the only capitalists. The capital they hold, altogether, is insignificant compared to that held by the great army of small capitalists of the country; the depositors in banks of deposit, savings-banks, life-insurance and other insurance companies, mutual-benefit associations of all sorts, trust companies, loan associations, and the like. Every man who has deposited a dollar of his hard-earned savings in any of these enterprises is a capitalist, and as he deposited an honest dollar worth a hundred cents, he has a right—which, if we do our duty, he will discover before this campaign is finished,—to have a dollar of equal value returned to him when he asks for it.

Yet these even do not form the great army of capitalists. Every working man belongs to it; and especially the day laborer, whose capital is his pick, his shovel, and his good right arm. For the question of questions with him is really whether there is or is not to be a proper employment for his capital; whether juggling with the national credit shall be allowed to do its inevitable work of reducing remuneration for his strength and skill; whether chronic panic shall close manufactures, stop public works, paralyze private enterprise, on all of which he depends for the use of his capital. The whole demand is to bring the truth to bear on these capitalists, lesser and greater.

It will require no great effort to show to laboring men the truth that in times of inflation wages never rise so fast or so far as prices of commodities; and that wages are likely to fall rather than rise if employers are crippled—as they certainly would be by such a wrench in our finances as is proposed by the misnamed Democrats and their Populist allies.

In view of all this, what is the best course for those who favor evolution rather than revolution; stability in our industry and currency, rather than perpetual fluctuation; progressive reform rather than an overturn with repudiation and dishonor? I would submit to thinking men in both the old political parties, the following considerations.

First,—common sense and courage. Leading men in both the old parties, who preserve their reason and patriotism, should in this great crisis sink their differences and unite in the support of Mr. McKinley, the only candidate, whom it is possible to elect, who resists a revolutionary panic and crash; who would promote the interests and respect the rights of both labor and capital; who would uphold honesty, jus-

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tice, individual, and national honor. Democrats to-day should emulate the example of the war Democrats of the civil-war period. Republicans to-day should emulate the example of the Republicans of that time, by welcoming patriotic Democrats now as Republicans welcomed John Brough, Stanton, Dix, Dickinson, Sickles, Alvord, and many like them then.

And just here is another difference between the struggle against the old revolution and the new, which may well encourage us. An eminent Frenchman once said to me,—"What I like best in your country is to see your men of opposing parties meeting on friendly terms, and in emergencies making common cause. In France men always adhere fanatically to their own party and will have nothing to do with men of the other." The Frenchman's insight was good, and never was this more evident than now, when great numbers of men, who have formed the bone and sinew of the Democratic party, may be relied upon to support the only Presidential candidate who has any hope of election on a platform of honesty, honor, and prosperity.

Second,—if the Republicans in the former crisis elected John Brough, a war Democrat, as Governor of Ohio, and John A. Dix and Thomas G. Alvord, war Democrats, as Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and if they welcomed Edwin M. Stanton and other war Democrats to places in the Cabinet, why should not Republicans henceforth gladly welcome to similar positions such sound-money Democrats as shall boldly come out on the side of the country in this crisis?

Third,—as to nominations for Congress. Between a fifty-cent Republican and a dollar Democrat, Republicans should certainly choose the latter.

Fourth,—as to the tariff question. Mr. McKinley represents more than any other man in this generation, to the working men of this country and to the world at large, the policy of developing our industries by duties laid for that purpose; but, on the other hand, the Democratic doctrine was, for many years, and those the most successful period of the party, a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. The difference between these two doctrines seems a difference rather in degree than in kind;—rather metaphysical than real. It is practically a difficulty easily bridged by good sense and good will. Let it be understood that while Mr. McKinley stands for the development of American industry, whatever tariff is hereafter established shall be the result of calm inquiry by experts, with the idea of establishing a policy which fair men of both parties, after this crisis is over, may maintain

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as a finality; let sound men of both parties thus unite in giving our industries not merely an impulse but a stability which they have never yet had, and we shall enter, as I fully believe, into a period of prosperity more solid and enduring than any we have ever known; a period in which the ravings of the financial schemers and fanatics will be lost among the shouts of the onward marching army of industry.

What are to-day the causes of our worst troubles? They are mainly two. First, want of stability in our industrial policy; second, want of stability in our financial policy. This double want of stability depresses both labor and capital. In such a union as this which I advocate; with no doctrinairism on either side, but a recognition by the old Democracy of the fact that the nation must have more revenue, and that we may well obtain it in such a way as incidentally to stimulate industry; and a determination on the Republican side that whatever changes are made in the tariff shall be made for the purpose of securing adequate revenue, and at the same time developing and strengthening industries which really need support, and these alone;—honestly, faithfully, without concessions to any individuals or corporations whatever, beyond what the industrial development of the country really needs;—such a union of Democracy with Republicanism would prove to be, not merely a settlement of our present difficulties, but a bulwark against future anarchy and communism.

When we note in the Chicago platform and in the utterances of its candidate and supporters the demand now for a silver dollar worth half its nominal value, and the foreshadowing of a paper dollar worth nothing at all; when we note the paragraph relating to the Supreme Court, the best bulwark of the Constitution; when we see that great reform in the civil service—one of the noblest conquests both for true Democracy and true Republicanism, the only system which in place of the old favoritism gives the son of the uninfluential poor man an equal chance at office with the son of the influential rich man—marked for destruction, both by the utterances of the platform and of the candidate; when we observe the virtual demand for free riot, and the stoppage of the United States mails by any mob which can seduce a governor or scare a mayor; we see both socialistic and anarchistic elements mingling to form a party which is neither Democratic nor Republican, nor indeed American, and which Democrats and Republicans and all Americans of every party should oppose by all legitimate means in their power.

The crisis is indeed a great one. These questions now presented

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are more serious than any since 1861; perhaps in some respects more serious even than those. For had our nation then been divided, though that would have been a fearful loss to civilization, to liberty, and to humanity, there would have been no indelible disgrace to popular government like that involved in a repudiation of its honest debts by the richest and most enterprising people the world has ever seen.

But while the questions at present involved are of vast import, those looming up just beyond are infinitely greater. For those concern the continuance of this Republic.

It is a time which calls for hard work and much of it. It is to be, indeed, "a campaign of education." There is, as I have shown, everything to encourage us. Eighteen years ago, when the fiat-money craze beset the country, it seemed about to carry everything before it, even in our eastern States. Especially was this true in the State of New York. The demagogues and fanatics seemed to have it all their own way. They filled vast halls with delighted audiences who cheered their orators to the echo; but Conkling, Garfield, Schurz, and men like them, came through the country, appealed to the sober second thought, and, at the election, the fiat-money party was completely overwhelmed. The present crisis, though more serious, is of the same sort, and can be met in the same way. It is not to be settled by men like Governor Waite, with his Jacobin threat of "blood to the bridles of the horses," or Governor Altgeld's concessions to anarchy, or Governor Tillman's sectionalism, or the programme of socialism, or a candidate foreshadowing a deluge of paper money which shall transfer great masses of private property to an oligarchy at Washington; but by strong, thoughtful reasoners, who, not only in the city centres, but in every school-house, and at every cross-roads, shall bring the simplest truths involved home to the hearts and minds of the people.

The question immediately involved is the prosperity and honor of our country. The question remotely involved is the continuance of this Republic. Our greatest encouragement in this crisis is that these questions are to be settled, not as in 1793 by "The red fool-fury of the Seine," but, in 1896, by appeals to reason and patriotism addressed to the sober second thought of the American people.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

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FIRE AND SWORD IN CUBA.

JUST a year ago "Harper's Weekly" published a short letter of Don Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish minister to the United States, in which after declaring that the "American press does not want the truth" [concerning Cuba] he says:—

> "The American people is made to believe that there is in Cuba a nation fighting for liberty! instead of a few thousand adventurers taking for the moment advantage of the rainy seasons. Maceo is a mulatto, Maximo Gomez a Dominian, Miró a Spanish bandit [from Spain, Europe], and the only Cubans are Massó and Santa Lucia, two enthusiasts. Is that a people?"

I am about to show what a "mulatto," a "Dominian," a "bandit," and "two enthusiasts" have accomplished against the power of Spain.

Martí initiated the Revolution which began on February 24, 1895.

Late in April the long-exiled leaders—Martí, Gomez, the brothers Maceo, Crombet, Guerra, and others—landed in Cuba and met at the plantation of Mejorana, in the province of Santiago, to draw once more the swords they had sheathed for a Spanish lie. For seventeen long years every man of them had hungered for this hour, and now it was neither fantasy nor dream; through the wide windows of the Mejorana dining-room they could look out under the verandah eaves and see the matchless Cuban moonlight silvering the fanning fronds of palm. Yes it was the sad, blessed Island again! Martí the recognized leader organized a formal council of war around the dinner table and Gomez, whose deep-moving mind had already thought out a whole year's plan of operation, developed his startling project for invading the body of the Island, which was enthusiastically approved.

With the Invasion this article has to do, and it is desirable at the outset that I should frankly state my sources of information. I learned of the present Insurrection, long before it occurred, from Cubans who knew my fervent sympathy for their cause. I have the personal acquaintance of many leaders and have travelled the Island widely. A year before the council of war just mentioned I succeeded in getting a pass from the military authorities at Santiago to visit in his prison my old friend Guillermon, the black lion whom the Spaniards had

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arrested and cast into a cell for safe keeping. When the sentinel paced into the dungeon toward us, Guillermon talked in ordinary tones of a recent coal discovery, but when the soldier retraced his steps, strode out of the room and across a wide corridor, the old fighter's eyes blazed and his lips poured into my ear the secret of the coming war. Poor Homeric hero! The poisonous Spanish dungeon succeeded where regiments had failed. He reached the patriot camps a dying man and gave his last breath for Cuba.

From that hour I have watched the unfolding of the drama,—both the military movements on the Island, and the slow masterly spinning of diplomatic cobwebs by the Spanish Minister in this country about the executive arm of the United States Government. For the facts of the Invasion I have been favored with the campaign notes of Gen. Miró, Chief of Staff to Gen. Antonio Maceo, which are soon to be published. Having this as a basis I have made careful notes during many hours' personal conversation with Maceo's gallant Adjutant-General, who fell desperately wounded in Pinar del Rio; with an aide-de-camp of Gen. Gomez, and with two officers of the forces acting in the province of Havana. The details I am about to give come wholly from honorable Insurgent sources, and they tally perfectly with the general movements and results of the campaign which are a matter of public knowledge even as far as the Cortes in Madrid.

While Gomez's bold project of Invasion was being adopted at Mejorana, Field-Marshall Martinez Campos, who had come from Spain as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of Cuba, was assuring Madrid that the rebellion was locked up under martial law in the Eastern provinces where he proposed to hold and crush it. To isolate Santiago, the very *nidus* of revolution, he strengthened a zone of military occupation across its western boundary, reinforcing the cities of Manzanillo, Bayamo, Holguin, and Las Tunas, besides occupying many intermediate points by fortified block-houses along main roads, and open encampments at a number of prominent plantations; thus disposing about ten thousand troops—an ample force well handled to accomplish Campos's purpose. At Mejorana were all told about six hundred Cuban soldiers, mostly cavalry; of these Gomez took two hundred to act as his escort, and with Martí started westward for Camagüey to aid in organizing the Insurrection, leaving Santiago under the command of Antonio Maceo, whose first duty was a purely strategic move to enable Gomez to pass the Holguin Zone. Gomez marched by Cauto Abajo toward Descanso de los Muertos (Rest of the Dead)—name of ill omen—near which in

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the little fight of Dos Rios, Martí fell as Flor Crombet had perished a few weeks before. While Gomez, after the irreparable loss of Martí, cleverly outflanked the Spanish force, Maceo tore through the forests and plantations straight for the city of Holguin, which his bold approach threw into panic; the Spanish commander withdrawing his outside block-house detachments, hurrying in the garrison of Las Tunas, and disposing for defence. Maceo for a couple of days swept completely around the city, threatening it from all sides and keeping its commander in a fever of alarm and perplexity. The main force of the northern part of Spanish Zone being thus crowded into Holguin, Gomez rode across the deserted lines passing safely into Camagüey, and Maceo countermarched to Cauto Abajo.

Here, on July 5, while he was organizing and training his gradually augmenting force, Maceo learned that Martinez Campos, who had come to Santiago in his naval yacht, would soon arrive at Manzanillo, the southern seaport of the region, and probably visit Bayamo itself. Accordingly the yacht anchored at Manzanillo on July 11 and on the 12th Campos marched out on the road which led by Veguitas and Peralejo to Bayamo.

Maceo had hurriedly drawn reinforcements, calling Goulet, Guerra, Massó, and the redoubtable Rabí, the last man left of the Siboney Indians, that delightful tribe who peopled all Cuba when Diego Velasquez landed and began the 400 years of murderous oppression. As Hatuei their chief was among the first victims of fanatical Spanish butchers, one can but pray that the brave Rabí will live to see the last Spaniard driven from Cuba.

Gen. Santocildes who commanded at Manzanillo got news of the concentration and advance of Maceo, and, before the landing of Campos, advanced eastward toward Bayamo to locate the Insurgents and estimate their numbers. Maceo, as Santocildes learned, had a total of 1,400 men, quite enough to overpower the 700 soldiers whom Campos had ordered for his escort; accordingly the Spanish general fell back to intercept and strengthen Campos. They met on the road, Campos making light of the "rebels" and telling Santocildes he could take care of himself. In the end, however, Santocildes' warnings were heeded, and on the next morning (the 13th) the column was moved up the road in the following order: first a small band of about thirty "explorers," then, after an interval, Santocildes with an advance guard of 500 soldiers, then Campos with 700 men, and finally a strong rearguard.

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By ten o'clock they reached the Savanna of Peralejo just beyond which the road divides; the main, southern (right hand) fork passing on through forest toward Bayamo, and the little-used left path swinging to the north for a few miles, then curving back to a junction with the main road some miles before the united tracks reach Bayamo. Woods and thick tropical brush-growth cover the ground included between the two branches, and along the right of the main road stretches a high wire fence backed by forest. At Peralejo the black guide who had conducted the column caught sight of Maceo's pickets and immediately Santocildes formed his force in the open and prepared to fight. Campos sent forward the order to press the pickets back, and the general of the vanguard moved forward, when suddenly from ambush not fifty yards from his right flank the Insurgents under Goulet poured a rapid and well directed fire into the Spaniards. For an hour they had it hot, the royalists from their exposed position suffering seriously and finally showing signs of disorder: then Maceo's cavalry formed under cover among the trees back of the wire fence, drew their machetes, came forward in line, hewed down the wires, rode out into the open, turned to the left, and charged straight for Santocildes with perfect steadiness and terrible momentum. Both forces reeled under the shock, but the Cubans re-formed like lightning and again with machetes flashing in the air dashed themselves against the enemy, this time crumpling their formation into a disordered rout. Before this last onslaught the Spaniards fell in scores. Dead on the ground lay Santocildes and all his staff except a captain and lieutenant; dying and wounded cumbered the road. Picking up their dead commander, the Spanish retreated to where Campos was halted, still under the distant fire of the Cubans. He took instant command, forming his men into a hollow square with himself and staff and the body of Santocildes in the middle, at once advancing eastward to fight his way past the Insurgent position.

Maceo, calculating that Campos would follow the main road, had moved about 700 men under cover of the trees to a point something more than a mile beyond the forks and concealed his force behind the wire fence in the tangle of a dense tropical wood. Campos advanced to the forks under fire and took the fatal road, moving on until his whole command had entered, and his rear rested on the point of divergence. Then suddenly he faced his column about, converted rear into advance, and as fast as his men could go turned up the left-hand road and fled for Bayamo, with the impassable wood between

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the two roads as a complete protection against the force of Maceo. It will never be known whether the old negro mountaineer who guided Campos all day saw from tracks in the road or other sign that Maceo was ahead of them, or whether Campos looked on at the dark shadows of the wood, or caught some glimpse of man or horse which led him to suspect the deadly ambuscade Maceo had prepared for him; or whether he had one of those strange intuitive premonitions of danger which had made him a psychological puzzle in all his former wars. Had he gone ahead not a man could have survived. As it was, even this quick manœuvre required him to pass his men through the field of fire. When it came his turn to run his own chance of death the Commander-in-Chief made use of a trick, clever, justifiable, but hardly valiant. Knowing that the Cubans make it a point of honor never to fire upon, or in any way molest, a gravely-wounded enemy, he had himself slung in a hammock, improvised of a blanket lashed to a pole cut by the roadside, and carried on the shoulders of men. Thus disguised as a wounded man he passed unscathed across the field, the Insurgents watching his swaying body, painfully borne along, the face and uniform covered up to conceal his identity; but they never offered to shoot him. Saved by this ruse Campos got beyond danger, dismounted from his litter, and with his negro conductor hurried ahead, getting separated from the Spanish force, wandering for hours mile after mile in lonely forest paths, and finally, half dead with exhaustion, staggering through mud and darkness into Bayamo at ten o'clock at night. After his quick change of route when he rushed his troops up the left-hand road, leaving dead and wounded on the field, Maceo, unable to press through the wood and brush between the two roads in time to cut off the retreat, could only fall on the royalist rear and fire. All the way to Bayamo he thus harassed them, and Spaniard after Spaniard fell out of his place dead by the road. I have sketched this fight at Peralejo because the presence and procedure of the Captain-General lend it a certain personal interest and the episode of the blanket recalls the immortal *Sancho Panza*—who also became the governor of an island.

Other early combats—Jobito, Arroyo Hondo, Sao del Indio,—were quite as decisive Insurgent victories, but it was on the whole a meaningless warfare. The ill-supplied Cubans, then only at the beginning of organization, fought, as veterans should, with force and bravery. One may say that all the honors of war were with them. The Spaniards made no movement which showed the remotest notions of

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military precision or any evidence of strategic combination. Now and then a strong column marched out of some fort or other stronghold in a casual, seemingly inadvertent way, floundered about more or less helplessly, got whipped or out-manœuvred, or hungry, and went back to cover. The commander of the Eastern province seemed possessed of no higher aim than to nag. Campos after Peralejo never took another risk. He remained in Bayamo until an irresistible force was assembled, then got back to his yacht, and betook himself to Havana. Once at the capital he marked out a plan of campaign to be put in execution in the late autumn. That plan, as came to be publicly known, was: (1) To distribute sufficient force at commanding points over the Island to suppress any further attempts at insurrection; (2) to concentrate troops enough on the west of the province of Santiago to effectually wall in the "rebels" and confine them to their then limited field of action; (3) to drive the eastern "bandits" to bay, crush them, and end the war.

He continued the indefatigable activity which he had practised since assuming command, working incessantly to get his army into perfectly effective shape. Havana, on the contrary, which had never learned any more of Peralejo than Campos's jaunty and laconic despatch had told, rather looked on his example of ceaseless effort as fussy and martinetish. The theatre of actual hostilities was so far, so many hundreds of miles, away off in the half-unknown mountain wilderness of the East, and the rains pouring in deluges so effectually deferred all active fighting till November, that the war made little impression on summer Havana. At worst it seemed a mere business annoyance which might have been lost sight of altogether had not the unusual show of battalions marching through the streets offered its daily reminder of an unsettled question. Finally, everybody but the toiling Captain-General got tired of considering the insurrection seriously, and it became the butt of wits. Summer society in the capital and at Marianao had never been gayer; it glittered with the uniforms of countless young officers; and gray generals, stiff with glory and armor-plated with orders and decorations, became centres of cheerful ostentation in every *sala*. Spanish military music floated away on the trade-wind at all hours. Officers and soldiers kept the town smiling with camp jests and tales of the droll "nigger bandits," as they called them, whom they had fought in the field and were to finish off in the autumn. The climax of the comic however occurred in July, and kept Havana in a ripple

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of laughter for weeks. It was a solemn, lofty proclamation issued by Maximo Gomez, the Insurgent General-in-Chief, at some obscure place in remote Camagüey, forbidding the carrying of articles of commerce into cities of Spanish occupation, and prohibiting, under threat of direst penalty, the cultivation, cutting, or grinding of sugar-cane. In short, commanding the industrial heart of Cuba to stop beating.

To gay Havana nothing could be more quaint and amusing than this "mock-heroic" personage who stood four hundred miles away in the woods, waving his machete and publishing edicts which were in the style of epic poetry and savored strongly of Cervantes's invincible knight. "Don Quixote de Camagüey," was going to "have at" the sugar-mills. Exquisite drollery!

Campos, never doubting his power to crush the Insurrection, reassured the planters and guaranteed that the sugar crop should be gathered without molestation, and for months tranquillity reigned.

Nothing more was heard of "Quixote."

At the other end of the Island Antonio Maceo, at Banabacoa, received notice from Gomez that a provisional constitution had been adopted by a duly qualified constituent assembly, representing every province, and on its foundation a civil government constituted. He learned also that Gomez had been commissioned General-in-Chief and himself (Maceo) Lieutenant-General. With this came formal but secret orders from Gomez to Maceo, directing him to organize a column for the *invasion of the body of the Island!* Maceo who had awaited this signal since the council of war held at Mejorana, marched to Baraguá, where he succeeded in uniting a force of 500 infantry under Quintin Bandera, a black veteran of the former war, and 700 cavalry under Luis Feria.

History has its occasional touch of poetry, and time his moments of dramatic justice. At the end of 1878 Gen. Campos had met the Insurgent commanders under a flag of truce, and in the name and on the faith of Spain, promised a liberal measure of that liberty for which they had struggled during ten bloody years. Gomez and the other commanders signed the treaty of Zanjon, and the war ended. Antonio Maceo alone refused to affix his signature, and retired to his mountains. Campos followed him to Baraguá and pleaded with him, but all in vain. Maceo knew the stuff of which the royal promises of Spain are made better than his brother commanders. Spain characteristically broke her plighted faith, and fate led Maceo again to that self-same Baraguá and bade him gather his braves to march once more against Campos!

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On October 11 there arrived at Maceo's camp a party of horsemen consisting of the venerable President Cisneros Betancourt, Marquis of Santa Lucia, Vice-President Bartolomé Massó, the entire Cabinet, and Gen. Gomez with a small escort. All the generals having taken the oath of allegiance to the civil government and Antonio Maceo being formally designated as Commander of the Column of Invasion, a review of the force was held. Then on October 22, the column marched westward, and on November 1 entered the "Jurisdiction" of Holguin where they were reinforced by 500 cavalry, being parts of two new regiments under Generals Miró and Santana, thus raising the total to 1,700 men. From Mala Noche, on November 3, the column made its formal start.

Since Dupuy de Lôme has branded Miró as a "Spanish bandit," it is desirable at this point of the narrative to puncture that iridescent bubble. Miró in Spain was a Carlist and openly fought with the rest of his party against Spain. Captured in battle by Concha he was banished to Cuba with other regular prisoners of war, and at the collapse of the Carlist movement honorably set free. He was given an important office of trust by the Spanish bank in Cuba, from which he resigned on account of his open sympathy with the Separatist propaganda. On joining Maceo he was appointed his chief of staff.

Campos, as the rainy season wore on, completed his preliminary disposition of forces, and got his army and navy into condition and position to make short work of the half-organized "rebels." His army numbered, all told, somewhat above 200,000 men. "El Año Politico," a statistical annual lately published in Madrid, places the Peninsular forces then in Cuba at 172,295. Besides this the Cuban royalist volunteers recruited from Spaniards in Cuba numbered about 50,000; and in February following 16,000 more Spanish regulars reached the Island, so that with the most liberal allowance for losses the Spanish army in Cuba has not fallen below 200,000.

The finishing touches having been put on military and naval forces, there came a period of impatience in Havana. Officers and soldiers eagerly waited for the rain to cease. Finally, in November, the heavens shook themselves free from the burden of summer vapor and came out in that liquid, luminous blue that overarches Cuba during half the year; but the Island was soaked—roads were quagmires. From headquarters the cry went up: "All we want is four days of north wind" to lap up the water from flooded fields and drenched roads. With difficulty they restrained themselves from rushing out into the mud to take their long-deferred initiative.

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Campos, calmer than the rest, was still waiting for the north wind when suddenly there appeared afar off on the eastern horizon a small moving speck, which slowly resolved itself into the very same group of personages which Minister Dupuy de Lôme had sneered at three months before in "Harper's Weekly." There rode the "two enthusiasts": the Marquis of Santa Lucia, now President, and Bartolomé Massó, Vice-President of a new-born republic. There rode Gomez, "the Dominian," hot with the boldest military project of the century;—by his side Maceo, the "mulatto," his machete flashing, and with him his chief of staff Miró, "the Spanish bandit from Spain, Europe." Behind them marched a little column of only 1,700 men, blacks and whites, but one and all solemn with the resolve to strike for Cuba or die for freedom. They had awaited no Spanish "initiative," delayed for no north wind, but they came out of the veil of rain and through the tropical mud moving on swift and confident. It puzzled Havana. Was "Don Quixote of Camagüey" really going to charge a sugar-mill? Ridiculous! Impossible!

From the starting point in Holguin "Jurisdiction," the Cubans marched out on November 3 intent first of all to pass the Barrier Zone, held just ahead of them with 10,000 troops. In two days, scouts discovered the Spanish general Echagüe with 3,000 men under Cols. Nario and Ceballos in position at Pelonas and Arenas to dispute their westward march, and the Insurgent commander dispatched Gen. Capote with 300 men to make a rapid feint on the city of Las Tunas. This slight movement was enough to send the Spanish column rushing back to the city to defend it. The field in front being cleared the Insurgent column moved swiftly on through Arenas unopposed, the Spanish forces remaining in the rear, anticipating a general attack. Capote followed on the Cubans' trail. When Echagüe saw himself thus outflanked he started in hot pursuit, but whenever he caught up, Capote chose some advantageous cover and compelled him to halt with a rain of shot.

On entering Camagüey, Gomez, with a small escort, departed from the column on a return march to Najassa and Puerto Principe. He had started the little Army of Invasion under his trusted general, Maceo, and promised to rejoin it a month later after moving through the north country raising the standard of Cuba and inspiring men to revolt and take arms. Maceo and the Cuban column moved rapidly westward closely followed by Echagüe, who doggedly marched a hundred miles, making a really splendid effort to retrieve his blunder at

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Las Tunas. But the Spaniards were no match for the Cubans, and Echagüe at length gave up in despair and moved down to Santa Cruz del Sur, on the Caribbean coast, with his numerous wounded.

In Camagüey Maceo's forces were slowly but constantly augmenting, both by daily individual accretions and the joining of considerable bodies like the cavalry squadrons of Rodriguez and Tamayo, Camagüeyan chiefs who fell into the invading column.

Toward the end of November, Maceo, still urging his rapid march westward, passed the strongly garrisoned capital city of Puerto Principe at such a speed that the Spanish had their breath taken away, and only made a *pro forma* demonstration far in his rear.

Sixty miles west of Puerto Principe, is the formidable "Eastern Trocha," constructed in the former war from Moron, a town near the northern coast, to Jucaro on the south or Caribbean shore, and now occupied to intercept the Insurgent Invasion. From the north coast to Moron are about eight miles of lowlands and lagoons, with swamps and no lines of east and west travel; moreover, a river flows from near Moron northward to the sea, which forms a natural line of defence, as it is practically unfordable in its lower reaches, and always easily held by a small force. From Moron to Ciego de Avila, a distance of about twenty miles, covering the main zone available for travel or military operation, a railway was formerly constructed, and is now repaired, reequipped with new rails and telegraph, and provided with armor-clad cars. Along the whole railway is a double line of small forts planted at short distances. Moron and Ciego de Avila are both fortified, and garrisoned by from five to six thousand troops each. From Ciego south a very wide military wagon-road leads straight to Jucaro which is defended by a chain of block-forts. As, however, it passes for a considerable part of its course through a difficult region of forest and "monte" (thick brush-growth), with formidable stretches of morass, and hence unsuited to rapid movements of even Insurgent troops, this lower section of the "Trocha" was not very strongly manned. Finally Jucaro, the southern terminus, is well garrisoned; it lies, moreover, on flat ground under the guns of war-vessels which ride at anchor on the roadstead before the town.

When Maceo so easily traversed the military zone of Holguin and flanked Puerto Principe, Campos thought to stop his advance by means of the "Trocha." Including the garrisons of Ciego and Moron, about 16,000 troops were brought together to bar the Cubans. Part of this concentration was from the west, part from the east. Among

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the latter was the column of General Echagüe, who, when he gave up the pursuit of Maceo and hastened to Santa Cruz del Sur, loaded his troops on war-vessels and steamed west to Jucaro, arriving long in advance of the Cubans. From the difficult character of the ground north of Moron and south of Ciego, it was correctly reasoned that the Column of Invasion would attempt the passage of the "dead line" somewhere in the interval of twenty miles between the two cities. The Spanish commanders were in undisturbed telegraphic communication. All eyes were on the lookout, the whole Trocha alert. But the Spanish expected to be treated with some consideration, to be given plenty of time, and early notice of Maceo's intentions.

Suddenly on the morning of November 29, at the impudently early hour of six o'clock, the Insurgents were discovered coming on a straight course for Ciego at a speed which left no time for any gathering in of reinforcements. Dispositions of defence were all that could be made; as a matter of fact, they were still incomplete when Maceo, directly before the town, swerved abruptly north, turned west again, and crossed the Trocha between two small forts. With flag flying, the band playing the Invasion march, and before the Ciego garrison recovered their senses, Maceo cut rails and wires and swept westward.

It is amazing that this piece of elementary strategy had now succeeded for the third time; but the eastern combats, which, for want of space, I have only named, had taught the Spanish generals that the Cubans were capable of any sort of desperate onslaught, so that every time Maceo made one of his swift rushes at a place they were in a dilemma. If they stretched out a military net on either hand, wide and strong enough to catch him in case he swerved, the meteoric chieftain was quite capable of raising that horrid cry, "Al machete," and storming the weakened town. To be hacked to death in their own stronghold was far the worse of two evils, so every commander of them gathered his full force about him, shotted his guns, held his breath and—let the Cubans pass. The second barrier of Campos was thus left behind. On the whole, probably, the Spanish generals adopted the prudent and better course.

Although Campos had failed with two combinations, the Holguin Zone and Trocha, to cause Maceo a half-hour's delay, all the conditions were seen to be in Cuban favor. Throughout the Provinces of Santiago and Camagüey roads were few, indirect, and bad; telegraphs impossible to maintain in a land of woods and pastures, and the

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population was both sparse and hostile to Spain. Every league westward improved the conditions and chances of the royalists.

In the afternoon after the crossing of the Trocha, Gomez, having passed the barrier farther north, rode into Maceo's camp accompanied by Gen. Roloff, secretary of war, and Gen. Sanchez, and with his same little escort of only 200 men; and now immediately came a touch of that gallant unselfishness which is one of the most deeply ingrained traits of the Commander-in-Chief. Although the Invasion was a project originating with himself, although the column was emerging from a thinly-peopled, easily-traversed region and about to run the gauntlet, through a network of hostile railways, of eighty thousand Spanish troops in a campaign calling for every intellectual resource, although abundant glory would crown success (and where is there a true soldier careless of glory?), yet Gomez had not the heart to supersede his beloved Maceo, but confirmed him as Commander of the "Army of Invasion"—"*The Army of Invasion!*" High-sounding name indeed for 5,000 poor patriots grimly walking into the jaws of death. Gomez declared his purpose to accompany Maceo, reserving for himself a relation equivalent to that of an admiral to the captain on whose ship he unfurls his flag. The sentiment of these two men for each other is not merely one of admiration but of profound affection.

On December 2, after two days of much needed rest, the Cubans were on the march at dawn, moving due west. They were hardly under way when Suárez Valdés disputed the road. Maceo attacked him with 80 infantry and a couple of squadrons of cavalry, held him engaged while the main body of the Cubans by a narrow and unseen road passed on toward Trilladeritas, holding the field till Valdés showed that he had no intention of advancing, and then he rejoined Gomez. As the force was daily being rapidly augmented Gomez decided to detach, from the invading column, the whole body of infantry—then numbering about 1,000 men,—under Quintin Bandera, with orders to move down into the rich, fertile valley of Trinidad which opened to the Caribbean, there to recruit, organize, and drill as he marched, and generally to keep near the south coast, following the margin of the great chain of cienegas or wooded swamps whose almost impenetrable intricacies afforded a safe refuge to the crafty woodsmen, in case they should be overpowered by the Spanish. How effectively and admirably Bandera succeeded was seen when two and a half months later he rejoined Maceo with 4,000 well disciplined and fairly-armed soldiers.

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On December 3, concurrently with Bandera's departure, Gomez and Maceo crossed the river Jatibonico, leaving the Province of Puerto Principe behind and entering the populous, rich, cultivated territory of Las Villas. The General-in-Chief led the advance, Maceo remaining at the ford to protect the rearguard from surprise, and direct the crossing of men and horse. On the Las Villas side, unknown to the Insurgents, Colonel Segura with a Spanish column of 800 men and a convoy was returning from the fort of Iguará to Sancti Espiritu.

Spaniards and Cubans were approaching each other on roads which met at right angles. Segura saw Gomez's advance before the Insurgents saw him; ambushed his men in one of those tropical woods which, besides the cover of gigantic trees, is hung with veils of vines and parasitic vegetation, a wood in which a herd of war elephants could be completely hidden; and as the first of the column came along opened fire. Instantly Gomez moved the President's party forward to a place of safety, and then set his cavalry in position on Segura's flank and rear. Maceo, hearing firing, came galloping up with the cavalry rearguard and formed on Segura's other flank.

Although the Spanish were quite within the forest, Gomez and Maceo both charged, urging 300 cavalry over brush and fallen logs into the heart of the forest, fighting hand and hand. Segura and his troops fled to the fort of Iguará leaving 19 dead and many wounded, and losing to the Cubans 54 rifles, 800 cartridges, and 20 fully-equipped pack-mules. Although only an hour elapsed between the attack and flight of the Spaniards there fell, on the Insurgent side, thirty-two wounded and five killed, among the latter Col. Andrés Hernández, Chief of Maceo's escort, a highly-valued commander. To the thick woods which impeded cavalry fighting the Spanish owe their escape. Had Quintin Bandera remained with the column but one day longer there might not have been a Spanish survivor. As it was, the entry into Las Villas was signalized by this small but very complete victory.

At this point the Presidential party bade the column Godspeed and turned northward to resume the extension of civil government. Before going they unfurled and presented to the column a war flag embroidered by the women of Camagüey, and bade Maceo carry it to the Ultima Thule. Disencumbered of the slow-moving infantry, and freed from the anxiety of protecting the civil officers, they stripped for the great race before them.

Havana began to chaff again at the news of Gomez's advance, but as the Cuban column dashed past Santa Clara the laughter was plainly a

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little hollow. "Don Quixote de Camagüey" had moved uncomfortably near the great sugar-mills, and machetes are now known to provoke Spanish mirth inversely as the number in sight, and directly as the square of the distance.

Campos had seen his Barrier Line and Trocha broken like cobweb, but now came the chance of his life. Once the Insurgent column should pass Santa Clara and enter the square bounded by that city, Cienfuegos (the great Caribbean port), Colón, and Sagua, he had it in a "rat-trap," as he said.

Campos now established his headquarters at Cienfuegos to personally direct a combination of troops which should stop this irritating invasion, with what result we shall presently see. The cities were crowded with troops abundantly supplied, on every railroad engines stood panting to rush troop-trains and armored cars from point to point; the whole country was thickly patrolled by powerful columns which were in complete touch. So close were the bars of the "trap" that even this strange, incalculable enemy could not possibly squeeze through. On came the Cubans, making incredible zigzags and curves in their line of march. Coming straight for a town till you could hear the tramp of their horses, then seemingly vanishing from off the earth, only to reappear miles away at some utterly unexpected point. Campos learned of the passing of Santa Clara and waited anxiously for the "rebels" to penetrate his quadrilateral. Into the great square Gomez and Maceo calmly advanced, leaving Santa Clara on their right and then in their rear. Click went the door of the rat-trap. Campos "had them." Not only did they walk into the trap but they moved straight west toward Las Cruces, near the middle of the quadrilateral, an important railway junction where a combination of columns was gathering to give the *coup de grâce.*

At dawn on the morning of December 15 the Cubans, by this time 5,000 strong, broke camp, and at a swinging gait struck westward on the main road to Aguada de Flores, arriving about eight o'clock in the neighborhood of Mal Tiempo. In sight ahead was a grove of guava trees stretching along the road, and beyond rose the plantation buildings of Teresa. Maceo, leading the van, discovered through scouts that a strong Spanish force was massed under cover of the guavas, extending as far as could be seen along both sides of the road. Gomez was with the rear of the main column, and Diaz still behind, with Zayas and 500 cavalry some miles on the flank. The advance body of the Insurgent force was rapidly brought into line, facing the Spaniards,

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Maceo on the left and Gomez at the extreme right. The fight opened at once, the Spaniards firing from their grove and the Cuban cavalry replying from their saddles. As the engagement grew hotter Maceo pushed forward enough to see that a high wire fence stretched all along the margin of the grove in front of the Spaniards, and that in front of that again was a railway cut of a yard or so deep carrying one of the plantation cane-roads. Although the Spaniards were under a sort of cover the guava has always an open growth, and this proved a poor protection against the superior aim of the Cubans. Their line wavered, and Colonel Molina was seen to begin preparations for a careful retreat. At a signal Gomez and Maceo made concerted charges, leaping down into the railroad cut and up the other bank, hacking down the wire fence and plunging into the grove after the wavering Spanish.

Molina with great rapidity and admirable coolness formed a hollow square, which immediately went to pieces under the impact of the cavalry. Again he succeeded in re-forming but to no purpose, and finally he made a third, last, brave stand, but Gomez and Maceo were at him with a rush and a rain of machete strokes. Fierce hand-to-hand fighting lasted for five minutes, and then the Spaniards broke and fled, running like rabbits into Teresa plantation and on into the thickets of the sugar-cane, where of course they were safe from cavalry pursuit. In full possession of the field, the Cubans counted the Spanish fallen, which numbered a captain, the column surgeon, two lieutenants, and 210 soldiers dead and wounded. They had captured the regimental colors, 110 Mausser and 30 Remington rifles, 10,000 cartridges, besides the adjutant's archives, from which it was learned that the column was composed of part of the infantry regiment, "Canarias," and a detachment of the Treviño cavalry.

Among the documents was a highly-interesting order from Gen. Campos censuring officers for their ridiculous battle reports. These despatches, sent in from scenes of skirmish or the butchery of "pacificos," had all along been such palpably bombastic lies that they sickened Campos, who, scholar that he is, cannot have failed to remember that delightfully comic figure—the Braggart Captain—in Plautus's comedy of "Miles Gloriosus." "In my long experience as a military man," he says in the order, "I am convinced that it is impossible, so shortly after a battle, to find out the number of the losses of the enemy. And while our losses are concealed from me, you give me details of repeated victories over the Insurgents, tales I have never seen verified in the reports sent in later."

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The Cuban wounded had but just received the first offices of field surgery when firing was heard on a road which joined the main road from the south, near where the morning's fight had opened. Immediate reconnoissance developed a strong Spanish column under command of Col. Arizon rapidly advancing to the support of Molina. Directly south of Maceo's position the road on which Arizon was coming passed over a detached ridge. Maceo as usual formed his plan in an instant, and dismounting about 200 cavalry armed them with captured rifles and cartridges, the excess of men continuing to use their carbines. He deployed them in line along the brow of the ridge under command of the brothers Ducasse and awaited Arizon. Seeing from the topography that Arizon, if checked, must either retreat or turn the eastern point of the ridge, he placed himself and his cavalry on good open ground in that quarter. Arizon came on and was met by the infantry fire, which was maintained with great rapidity from the abundance of Molina's cartridges, and held him checked. While under this staggering fire, and before he could move hand or foot, Maceo swung his cavalry around the point of the ridge, charged full into the Spanish ranks, and completely routed them, Arizon retreating and leaving sixty dead and wounded on the field.

While Maceo was conducting this fight Gomez had discovered a band of Spanish guerilleros in his rear, and at once began to play with them. He had only his staff and escort, but with them he pushed and threatened and moved the guerillas slowly along to gain time, cuffing them occasionally and following on to see whether they were falling back on some superior force. By ten o'clock he made a junction with Zayas, for whom he was waiting and who came up in the nick of time, and with a total force of 700 cavalry drove the Spaniards back, as he suspected, upon a main column which was coming up as Arizon's had, to join Molina. Gomez, one of the most elegant and dainty of tacticians, manœuvred the enemy nearly all day till he secured the advantage he required, and at four in the afternoon fell on them and whipped them completely, the Spaniards leaving their eighty dead and wounded on the field. A mule load of rifles and cartridges was the fruits of the action.

Meantime Diaz, who had commanded the extreme Cuban rear fought and checked a fourth of the concentrating columns.

By ten at night Maceo camped at the appointed place, Aguada de Flores, Gomez and Zayas coming later, and at last Diaz. All the Spanish troops, amounting to seven or eight thousand, were evidently

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to have made a junction at or near Mal Tiempo, but the Cubans as usual had travelled at such a pace that only Molina had arrived in advance. Once in camp at Aguada the Cuban forces were well to the west of Molina, and when they flung themselves into their hammocks the whole Spanish force, although sent to intercept them, was far in their rear. As a result of the day, three Spanish columns were beaten, with a loss in killed and wounded of about 400; a fourth checked, with unknown but small loss; the supply of arms and ammunition handsomely augmented, and a capital dinner of Spanish provisions was sacrificed to a victor's appetite.

In passing into Las Villas the Cubans had flung themselves into the crisis of their campaign. Havana lay only a hundred and twenty miles to westward, and there the island was but twenty-five miles wide; where they bivouacked after the fight of Mal Tiempo it was only fifty. This narrow area of operation is well supplied with railroads, and no serious obstacle opposed the rapid movements of large bodies of troops. Garrisoned cities formed everywhere for the Spaniards ideal bases of supply and refuges for retreat. It is the garden of Cuba and of the world. League after league the whole surface is one mosaic of pale-green cane-fields inlet in wandering pattern in the darker tint of pasture and palm-clad hills. The landscape is unique because of the Royal palms which everywhere dominate all other growths. Either in straight avenues or in self-sown groves it is a tree that cannot fail to arrest the eye. The lofty trunk is absolutely vertical and as smooth and straight as if turned. No scars of growth mar its marvellous Ionic shaft, which is of a delicate pale gray (white in sunlight) up to the great tuft of long, flexible, sensitively-balanced fronds of deep, highly-polished green. The slightest breeze sets their great plumes waving and singing. Cane cultivation ceases only at the edges of the towns, whose red roofs and sunlit stucco walls are half buried in masses of golden green. A town is a garden shaded with one broad roof of trees above which here and there are uplifted the towers of a church or a green crown of palms.

In this paradise Campos had planted full eighty thousand troops, chiefly infantry, of course, but with more than sufficient of the helpless sort of cavalry Spain had sent him, and more field artillery than he could find use for, although the roads were dry and firm.

Gomez and Maceo with their bold six thousand had, while marching on the 16th, the usual enlivenment of a skirmish, and far behind, the Spanish columns pulled themselves together after their detailed

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defeats at Mal Tiempo and began a dogged pursuit. For three days the Cubans, as Miró wittily expressed it, were "escorted in the rear by 8,000 Spaniards," but "heart failure" slowed down these tardy followers and at length they drew off to be borne ahead by train.

In this interval Lacret, with a few squadrons of cavalry, was ordered to proceed by forced march into the heart of Matanzas and the edges of Havana to create a diversion, cut railways, and burn stations, just as Diaz and Zayas were to operate near Santa Clara and Cienfuegos.

On the night of the 20th Gomez and Maceo moved still deeper into the sugar-paradise, which had now become a great military park, crossed the river Anabana into Matanzas and camped at the plantation of Desquite. Suárez Valdés, who had been ordered out to prevent the passage of the river with artillery, got there too late, but he struggled through the night and by eleven next morning encountered the Cubans just as he was wallowing his cannon through the muddy ford of a small stream. Under the sharp fire of the little infantry force commanded by the Ducasse brothers he succeeded in getting the guns on firm ground when the Cuban cavalry came thundering down "Al machete." Valdéz could not hold his men, who fled precipitately, cannon and all, into a providential wood and were not seen again by the Insurgents.

On pressed the Cuban column, making a splendid pace for seventeen hours and camping at midnight by the plantation of Santa Elena. The pickets around the camp in the gray of the morning discovered a Spanish column which had come into a palm grove close by. Springing from hammock to saddle the Cubans charged victoriously and the baffled foe fled, and, their road thus cleared, the Insurgents rushed on, now flanking and then skirmishing, but managing to avoid the delay of a severe fight, as they had an immediate point to gain. This day's march, one of the most important of the whole campaign, was managed with a brilliant skill which no one appreciated more fully than Martinez Campos. Colón was his temporary headquarters and there he was gathering in troops with superhuman effort, calculating himself to be so far west of the Cubans that he could concentrate for a decisive blow. The memory of Holguin, the Trocha, and Mal Tiempo destroyed his faith in his generals and he went to Colón himself. Telegrams gave him the approximate position and direction of the Insurgents, who could not, as he supposed, cross the meridian of Colón before midday of the morrow.

Late in the afternoon Gomez and Maceo were known to be developing their spasmodic zigzag changes of course which no Spaniard has

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ever been able to master. Night fell, when Spaniards cease from troubling, and then the Insurgents under cover of darkness pressed on, on, on, till at midnight they noiselessly pitched their camp within two miles of Colón and Campos. All night the tired Cubans alternately slept and listened to the sharp whistle of the arriving troop-trains, and all night scouts and spies gathered the information Gomez and Maceo had come to obtain. By fading starlight the Insurgents were in motion, making their way in the dim dusk with the utmost caution among farms and fields out into the open, and then spurred west. All night the arriving regiments had poured out of their trains and lain down anywhere and everywhere to sleep as best they could. To-morrow 7,000 troops were to wipe out the rankling memory of Mal Tiempo.

When the sun came up Colón discovered that the "rebels" had slept under their guns and vanished before they awakened. The Colón combination was naught! He, Campos, was too late! Rebels and stars had gone out together. The Spanish commander, nothing daunted, resolved to load his force on the trains again and make one last desperate effort to head the Cubans near Coliseo, a point on the Matanzas railway, a good strategic station which he could reach by rail far ahead of the Cuban march. He telegraphed Havana and Matanzas to hurry an overwhelming force to meet him, and began to labor for his move.

Then Campos saw a dark portent in the heavens. To the west a little Cuban spark touched a cane-field, roared into a fierce conflagration, and towering above it in the still morning air rose a straight black column of smoke standing on the green earth like a gigantic exclamation point. Campos knew its meaning too well! One followed another. They sprang up in every direction till the midday sun went out. The Cubans sped westward, their vanguard bearing the torch, and the children of Gomez, following the pillar of cloud, marched into the promised land.

Once free from suburban obstacles, Gomez with 1,500 cavalry made a forced march for Roque, a town near the Matanzas railway, and Maceo, with the remainder, headed straight for Coliseo, where the two generals were to join on the following day, the 23d. Roque received Gomez with open arms, but even the enthusiastic welcome did not detain him or long delay his ride to the railway. Reaching the line he seized a station and agent, placed an expert telegrapher within sound of the instrument, and learned from the military despatches flying between Campos and Havana the whole story of the great junction of troops to

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be made near Coliseo for his annihilation. The next twenty-four hours saw the greatest military race of the year, Campos with his superabundant resources by rail, Gomez and Maceo on horseback and afoot over the country roads.

Campos planted cannon in the main streets of Colón, left 2,000 men for its defence, and with 6,000 proceeded by trains fifty miles westward to Palomar, a station just beyond Coliseo. En route he was reinforced by Prat with 3,000 troops, and on the morning of the 23d, on arriving at Palomar, was met by 4,000 more. To this point he had ordered 25,000 men from Matanzas and Havana, intending to concentrate in all a force of about 40,000 for the complete annihilation of the Cubans. At Palomar the telegraph announced the great body of reinforcements as coming swiftly, but suddenly the wires became mute; hour after hour passed, and nothing more was heard or seen of them.

They reached Cabeza thirty miles west of Campos only to find the railway just destroyed and wires cut by Amieba and Roque, who attacked them so boldly that the Spanish believed Maceo's whole force to be before them. Toward noon Campos saw that his concentration had failed, and in desperation resolved to fight Maceo with the force in hand, but still hoping for the arrival of his main body he detached 2,000 men to defend a railway base at Limonar, a station a mile or so west of Palomar, and with 11,000 moved eastward along the railway, extending his line for over three miles in length parallel to the rails and a few hundred yards in front. Thus placed, his line stretched from near Palomar to a mile beyond Coliseo; Palomar, and the village of Sumidero being a quarter of a mile behind his right flank, and Coliseo, the main town of the neighborhood, an equal distance in the rear of his left centre. On both sides of the railway are very extensive cane-fields, which extend in all directions, surrounding and enveloping the towns and leaving only roadways through the sea of green.

The main country road on which the Cubans were approaching traverses the cane, and crosses the railway at right angles just east of Coliseo. Campos's line of battle had its centre on this road, extending a full mile and a half each way. The general himself took a position near the road where he could direct the battle and then made his whole line crouch down in the cane till not a man could be seen. The ambuscade was absolutely perfect. At last Campos was in time, and in a perfect position of his own choice.

Maceo, unconscious of the ambuscade, but on the alert, was advancing in five parallel columns. First came a band of fifty explorers,

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and a few hundred yards after them the general himself following the road at the head of the main column of 4,000 men. A half-mile out on either side were two light flanking columns of 250 men each, that on the left commanded by Col. Rodriguez, the right by Tamayo. Still exterior to these were two other flanking columns, each a thousand strong, marching, the left under Gen. Perez, the right under Lacret, at about another half-mile distance, thus making a column front of two miles. All four flanking bodies were wholly of cavalry. Before them were only level stretches of innocent-looking cane with Coliseo and Sumidero in full view just beyond. Marching steadily on, the explorers passed between the two divisions of Campos's line almost within touch of the commander himself, crossing the railway and moving into the cane-country beyond. Campos maintained his silence and concealment till they were gone, and Maceo's column came within two hundred yards; then the Spaniards sprang to their feet and delivered their fire. At that moment the two generals were not a hundred yards apart. Maceo instantly deployed a part of his column to the right and part to the left, forming a line of about 1,500 men, and answered Campos's fire. From the Spanish extreme flanks began to come forward two great wings of about 2,000 men each, intended to envelop the Insurgent force. Then Maceo flashed out a sudden lightning-bolt of genius!

He dispatched two aids, one to the right and one to the left, ordering the two left-hand flanking columns to unite, rush at full speed around the enemy's right, set fire to the village of Sumidero, and charge the Spanish rear. The right flanking columns received orders to plunge through the caneways, turn Campos's left, sweep around to Coliseo, set that on fire, and charge. Off flew the two cavalry bodies at break-neck run, and in twenty-five minutes both towns were burning. The almost incredible swiftness of this move turned the scale. While Perez and Lacret were charging the Spanish rear the explorers fired the cane all along the railroad, and Maceo kindled a line of flame across the whole of Campos's front.

Meantime Gomez came up from his two days' raid on Roque and took a position with the main Cuban line, leaving Maceo free to move out westward with a few cavalry squadrons. Campos was hopelessly involved between two lines of cane-fire. Suddenly, from out the smoke and above cracking musketry and the roar of flames, sounded Campos's bugle blowing for retreat! Two thousand men of his extreme left were ordered to fall back on the town of Jovellanos: all the

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remaining 9,000 withdrew westward to Palomar, Perez and Lacret slashing their rear and Maceo falling on their flank.

Scourged by the cavalry, Campos, on reaching Palomar, formed his whole force into one big hollow square, each face made of four ranks, with himself and his absurd cavalry in the middle. In this shape he retreated on Limonar and its garrison. Then the victorious Cubans re-formed in order of march and passed westward, leaving the Captain-General in his square, baffled, outgeneralled, stunned, and wrapped in a winding-sheet of smoke.

This is the end of Campos!

He got back to his train and escaped to Matanzas and Havana, rails torn up and wires cut down behind him, the air growing blacker and gloomier with a hundred conflagrations. Smoke columns rose north, south, east, and west—close to Havana and Matanzas, along the shore of the Atlantic, and in every valley. Fires lighted up the Caribbean shore,—they were everywhere,—till two whole provinces were burning together and weaving their smoke into one great black pall that hung over Cuba for weeks, veiling the stars and quenching the sun to a murky ball of rayless red. Sixty million dollars of cane became drifting ashes and blackened sky!

"Don Quixote de Camagüey" had enforced his proclamation—Spain, Havana, Campos, two hundred thousand soldiers, and a navy to the contrary notwithstanding!

Expecting for months to see the Cuban Invaders stopped and killed, Havana suffered a rude shock when Campos entered the city on Christmas day, leaving conflagration without only to find panic within. Not the admirable activity he displayed in putting the capital in a state of competent defence, nor the perfunctory, almost ironical, "triumph" prepared by his devoted sons and loyal adherents, could placate a humiliated nation. His resignation came promptly. In his farewell order there breathed the spirit of a gentleman-soldier which compels an impulse of sympathy. When he learned the appointment of his successor he exclaimed: "Weyler! When *he* comes the very dead will rise against him!" One has not to look far for the cause of Campos's discomfiture. He had every resource but—generals! While against him in Gomez and Maceo were genius and valor. Thus ends a single chapter of the deeds of Minister Dupuy de Lôme's "mulatto," "Dominian," "two enthusiasts," and a "bandit."

CLARENCE KING.

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ANTITOXIN TREATMENT OF DIPHTHERIA A PRONOUNCED SUCCESS.

DIPHTHERIA Antitoxin is a "specific" in animals; how far has it now been proved to be in man? The answer to this question is based upon the results of a collective investigation, conducted by the American Pediatric Society, in which nearly 6,000 cases were brought together in a report.[1] A contributor to THE FORUM in a former number[2] and the writer of this paper were members of the committee having the work in charge. Before submitting the answer we have to make to this question, it is necessary to remind the reader of the many features of the case. The treatment of diphtheria has, by no means, been reduced to the nicety of a machine, but is rather comparable to the action of quinine in malaria. In this instance quinine can be expected to act only against true malaria, associated with the presence of the "plasmodium" in the blood. A patient may have, in addition to malaria, tuberculosis or rheumatism. Because the tuberculous malarial patient is not made well by quinine is no final argument against quinine as an anti-malarial medicament. It is necessary to make these points definite, before we can consider what Antitoxin is expected to do in man. The real question is how far the specific curative action of Antitoxin in artificially induced diphtheria in animals has been found to hold good in man.

Diphtheria is a disease caused by the growth and development of the bacillus diphtheria, that is, it is a specific infectious disease. But there are in the mouths of all persons, especially of those living in cities, other varieties of micro-organisms which may develop under circumstances favorable to their growth and modify the course of the disease due to the diphtheria bacillus. In this respect diphtheria developing in man may be modified so as to differ materially from that developed artificially in animals with the isolated pure culture of the diphtheria

[1] The Report of the American Pediatric Society's investigation into the treatment of diphtheria in private practice. "Archives of Pediatrics," July, 1896.

[2] "The Antitoxin Treatment of Diphtheria," Dr. L. Emmet Holt, THE FORUM, March, 1895.

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bacillus. This it is necessary to bear in mind at the outset. There are also two factors which determine the character of a given case of "pure" diphtheria,—the virulence of the bacillus and the susceptibility of the individual. It is a struggle between the person and the bacillus. It is not uncommon to see, following a case of supposed ordinary tonsillitis, a case of undoubted spreading diphtheria in another member of the same family, contracted presumably from the first. It becomes apparent, from many experiences, that the bacillus of diphtheria, of the same virulence, may give rise in one to symptoms of ordinary tonsillitis and in another to spreading diphtheria of severe type.

A typical case of diphtheria limited to the tonsils and adjacent mucous membrane has usually certain characteristics, among which is the grayish-white pellicle or false membrane covering the affected part. The bacillus diphtheria most often shows evidence of its first work upon the tonsils, where it finds conditions favorable for its growth: these are moisture, just the right temperature, a free circulation of air, and a proper "nutrient medium." The presence and growth of the bacilli in this favorable medium cause death of the cells covering the surface. These dead cells, plus the bacteria and coagulated albuminous materials from the blood, undergo a change which results in the formation of a continuous patch of dead superficial tissue. This cell death and subsequent change constitute the "local lesion" of the disease. In this local lesion the growth and development of the bacillus diphtheria produce a soluble poison, which is slowly absorbed into the system. The bacilli are limited to the local lesion, and do not enter the system. They elaborate their poison in this limited laboratory. The absorbed poison of diphtheria causes degeneration and final death of cells in different internal organs. Upon a moderate degeneration of a limited number of cells of the kidney, heart, and nervous system, or upon an extensive death of such cells, will depend largely the fate of the case, or the amount of after-harm, or sequelæ, such as sudden heart paralysis, kidney inflammation, or late "post-diphtheritic" paralysis. The amount of harm done in a given case depends, then, not directly upon the local lesion, but upon the amount and quality of the poisons produced in the throat laboratory, the continuance of their action, and the ability-to-withstand of the individual system. Bear in mind, when we come to speak of the number of days a patient has been sick, that days in an almanac can only approximately measure the amount of harm the cells of the heart or nervous system may have sustained. Virulent bacilli in a weakened individual know no dates.

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In animals, where the bacilli are inoculated into a mucous membrane, the "three days," so often spoken of, have a somewhat definite meaning. The local lesion in this case of pure diphtheria elaborates its poison, which is slowly absorbed into the system and can be relied upon to do a somewhat definite amount of damage, in a given time, to the susceptible cells of heart, kidneys, and nerves.

How is it in human diphtheria? Virulent bacilli are received into the throat of a susceptible individual. In the throat are already present small, round, pus-forming micro-organisms, pneumococci, etc. These are probably always present, especially in adult city-dwellers, and when, for any reason, the soil becomes favorable, are ready to grow and develop abscesses or broncho-pneumonia. It is believed that the bacilli and these cocci may have a mutual influence upon each other to favor the growth of each. The associated cocci interfere with the fair struggle between virulent bacilli and the individual. The cocci are like the corner roughs that mingle in a strife between police and strikers. They are waiting for any disturbance and demoralize the strife. All this should be thought of in discussing the poison developed in human diphtheria and the results of the use of Antitoxin.

In animals, then, a pure diphtheria can be induced by inoculating them with the bacillus. But from what has already been said, it is evident that not the bacilli themselves but the poisons or toxins developed from their growth are the direct agents in the production of the systemic effects of diphtheria. For the purposes of exact experiment this fact is taken advantage of. The bacteriologist allows a selected pure culture of diphtheria bacilli to grow upon an artificial culture medium and with proper moisture, warmth, etc., develop its soluble poisons or toxins. These toxins are then injected into a guinea-pig, and the pig is at once the subject of a fully developed diphtheria, whose beginning can be noted on the watch.

In experimental work a healthy guinea-pig, two and a half to three months old, weighing about 250 grammes, is selected. A fatal dose of toxin is one that will kill such a guinea-pig in seven days. These points are fixed, and further work depends on keeping them unchanged. Having determined the uniformly fatal dose, the next step is to learn what will save the life of such a poisoned guinea-pig. If the life can be saved from a uniformly fatal dose, if the life can be saved from a hundred times the fatal dose, if the life can be saved from a thousand times the fatal dose, what then? Whatever will save that animal's life must nullify uniformly the fatal effects, in a very susceptible subject,

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of the toxins developed by the growth of the diphtheria bacillus, and must therefore be a specific remedy for diphtheria in that animal.

Let us watch the course of two guinea-pigs, both of which have received a fatal dose of diphtheria toxins, but one of which has also received an accompanying dose of Antitoxin. For a few hours both seem perfectly well. Then the one having received no Antitoxin is noticed to become quiet, to lose all desire for food, to try to huddle itself close to its companions, as if to derive comfort or warmth from their contact. It becomes more and more drowsy and weaker; the symptoms progress and at the end of one or two days, without apparent pain, the pig seems as if too weak to live, and with a few gasps dies of heart paralysis. Meanwhile the other pig has remained plump, lively, greedy for food, in fact seems just as well as the pigs that have received no diphtheria poison. This course is absolutely invariable; the pig receiving the toxins alone always dies; the pig receiving the accompanying Antitoxin always remains unaffected. These results are true for one hundred times the fatal dose, provided the dose of Antitoxin is proportionate in amount. They are true for a thousand times the fatal dose, provided the Antitoxin is correspondingly increased. Antitoxin is then a specific against diphtheria in guinea-pigs.

It has been possible to attain this complete scientific demonstration of the specific relation of Antitoxin to diphtheria in animals; in man, on the other hand, no such demonstration is possible. We cannot control the virulence of the invading bacillus or the time of the invasion. The Antitoxin cannot be administered until some hours, and it may be days, have passed since the bacillus began its work of poisoning the patient. The varying ability-to-resist of patients of different ages and conditions disturbs the calculation, and finally the presence and action of other varieties of bacteria than the diphtheria bacillus complicate the problem and in many cases seriously affect the outcome of treatment. The only course open has been the systematic application of the serum treatment to all cases of diphtheria which could be identified as true diphtheria by the evidence of clinical symptoms and the presence of the bacillus of diphtheria in the local lesion, as demonstrated by the method of cultures. The accumulated results of this practical experience justify the claims made for its specific action. The most conclusive evidence of this character is undoubtedly embodied in the report of the American Pediatric Society already referred to.

The Society believed that cases occurring in private practice

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would furnish a much more trustworthy estimate of the value of Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria than cases finding their way into the public hospitals. It must be remembered that many of the latter come from overcrowded tenements. Cases are transferred to diphtheria hospitals from other hospitals where they have been under treatment for other diseases. The writer has had in his service at the Willard Parker Hospital children with tuberculosis-hip-joint disease, syphilitic disease of bones, children recovering from pneumonia, and most of all children who had been insufficiently fed. So much has been given to the press concerning the failure to demonstrate the great benefit of Antitoxin in this particular hospital, that it is not out of place to refer to what has already been said as to the specific action of quinine in malaria. Antitoxin is specific only against the toxins produced by the growth of the bacillus diphtheriæ, not against tuberculosis, not against syphilis, and not, sad to say, against the complications, broncho-pneumonia, abscesses, etc., except as an early administration conserves the strength of the patient and lessens the liability to these complications. Moreover, this investigation was designed to extend over a large area of the United States and Canada, to involve as many different physicians as possible, in order that deductions should be made from a large number of cases from a large number of men, and thus reduce the errors in percentage to the lowest possible point.

Ten thousand circulars were sent out by the members of the Society. The total number of cases treated by Antitoxin, outside of hospitals, collected from all sources, was 5,794. Of this total, 3,628 cases were reported in reply to the circulars of the Society; 942 were cases treated by the inspectors of the New York Board of Health at their homes; 1,468 were cases treated by the inspectors of the Chicago Board of Health at their homes. Of the cases reported to the committee 244 were excluded from the statistical tables. These were cases in which the disease was said to have been confined to the tonsils and the diagnosis not confirmed by culture, and therefore open to question. The remaining 3,384 cases of undoubted diphtheria reported to the committee were submitted to a careful analysis; in these the diagnosis was confirmed either by bacteriological culture, two thirds of all, or by the fact that other cases in the family were similarly affected, or by the characteristics of the given case presenting such marked symptoms as to preclude any error. These cases occurred in the practice of 613 different physicians, in 114 cities and towns and in 15 different States, the District of Columbia, and the Dominion of Canada. Tonsillar

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diphtheria cases, not confirmed by bacteriological cultures, the mildest form, were excluded.

It is the consensus of opinion that the type of diphtheria during this year has been of the average severity. The report embraces a rather larger proportion of severe cases than are usually brought together in statistics, and for these reasons; the physicians in their remarks upon their cases have said that they resorted to the Antitoxin treatment only in severe cases or when ordinary methods had seemed to fail. Some hesitated from lack of conviction as to its efficacy or fear of unfavorable effects, and others had failed to use it early, and in mild cases, on account of the difficulty and expense of obtaining it. Again, the serum produced in the early days of its introduction was weaker in strength, required large injections to attain the best effects, in fact larger doses by injection than the profession had been accustomed to give of any therapeutic agent, and as said above was difficult to obtain and was expensive. As a consequence too small doses were administered, were administered only in severe cases and too late to attain its best effects.

In the last of the year the Antitoxin produced by the New York Board of Health was many times stronger, requiring doses one fourth the original amount, was abundant in quantity, and in price moderate to those able to pay, and gratis to the poor. The New York Board of Health was the first in the world able to develop the Antitoxin of the highest present strength (700 units to each cubic centimeter). This was because they happened by chance to obtain a bacillus producing a stronger toxin than any formerly obtained. In this connection it is interesting to note that this bacillus was obtained from a case of diphtheria so mild that it was looked upon as a probable simple case of tonsillitis. This indicates to what a great degree the susceptibility of the patient influences the severity of any contagious disease. That is, we have always two factors,—the virulence of the germ and the ability-to-resist of the patient. This virulent bacillus from a tonsillar case of moderate severity apparently was capable of producing a most virulent diphtheria in another patient. This bacillus of rare strength is now producing toxin for the production of Antitoxin in many laboratories in the world and still remains as virulent as at first.

The results of the committee's investigation may be briefly summarized as follows:

Of the 3,384 cases reported to the committee 450 died, a mortality of 13 per cent. Of the 942 New York Board of Health cases, 169

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died, a mortality of 17.8 per cent. Of the 1,468 cases treated by the Chicago Board of Health, 94 died, a mortality of 6.4 per cent. The total 5,794 cases gave 713 deaths, a mortality of 12.3 per cent. From what has been said as to the sources of the cases included in the report, it would be manifestly unfair to quote the mortality in diphtheria hospitals previous to the introduction of Antitoxin—which, in the instances quoted by Dr. Holt varied from 40 to 56 per cent,—as a basis for comparison with these figures. But we may justly set beside them the reports of all cases of diphtheria occurring in New York city, which, for six years preceding the introduction of Antitoxin, from 1889–94 inclusive, give a mortality of 30 per cent—the lowest mortality during that period being that of 26 per cent in 1889. The result of any comparison that can be made is a decisive verdict in favor of the Antitoxin treatment.

As to the influence of age upon the results of treatment, the report speaks as follows: —

> "After the second year there is noticed a steady decline in mortality up to adult life. In many of the reports previously published the statement has been made that no striking improvement in results was observed in adult cases treated by the serum. Our figures strongly contradict this opinion. Of 359 cases over fifteen years old, which were returned, there were but thirteen deaths. . . . Four of them were moribund at the time of injection, no one of them living over twelve hours. Two, both sixty years old, were already crippled by previous organic disease, one of the heart, and the other of the kidneys. Only two of the cases were injected as early as the third day; three of them on the fifth day; and one on the ninth day. Omitting the four moribund cases the mortality of 355 adult cases treated with the serum is 2.5 per cent."

However unsavory reading these details may be to the laity, they are details that must be taken into consideration in estimating what Antitoxin is expected to accomplish in this dreaded disease and in appreciating what it can be shown to have accomplished. To the committee editing the report the two things which brought most comfort in the returns was a contemplation of the successful results in operated laryngeal cases and the study of fatal cases. The latter were so truly monstrous in their malignancy as to allow from the earliest observations no hope of recovery.

The circular letter asked for information upon the following points: Age; previous condition; duration of disease when the first injection was made; the number of injections: the extent of the membrane—tonsils, nose, pharynx, and larynx; whether or not the diagnosis was confirmed by culture; complications or sequelæ, viz., pneumonia,

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nephritis, sepsis, paralysis; the result; and remarks, including other treatment employed, the preparation of Antitoxin used, and general impression drawn from the cases. It will be seen that stress is laid upon the age of the patient, and extent of false membrane. A child under two years is a poor "subject" for diphtheria. The location of the false membrane has much to do with the outlook of the case. When limited to the tonsils, generally speaking, the outlook is good; when involving the nasal and pharyngeal cavities, much less favorable; when involving the larynx, most grave. It may well be said that a diphtheria of the larynx giving rise to stenosis (narrowing, "membranous croup") is among the most serious illnesses to which a child is exposed. If there is any difference of opinion concerning this last statement, it is only necessary to add the word "stenosis" which requires operation (intubation or tracheotomy), and all the world will agree.

The results of the analysis of the most dangerous class of cases, the laryngeal cases, are most interesting. Of the 3,384 cases reported to the committee, the larynx is stated to have been involved in 1,256 cases, or 37.5 per cent. This proportion is somewhat higher than is usual, and is partly explained by the fact that several physicians have sent in the reports only of their laryngeal cases. These laryngeal cases occurred in the practice of 379 physicians. In 691, or a little more than one half the number, no operation was done, and in this group there were 128 deaths. In forty-eight of them laryngeal obstruction was responsible for the fatal issue, operation being refused by the parents, or no reason for its being neglected having been given. In the eighty remaining fatal cases the patients died of other complications, and not from the laryngeal disease. In the 565 cases, therefore, or 16.9 per cent of the whole number, there was clinical evidence that the larynx was involved, and yet recovery took place without operation. In many of these cases the symptoms of stenosis were severe, and yet disappeared after injection without intubation. No one feature of the cases of diphtheria treated by Antitoxin has excited more surprise among the physicians who have reported them, than the prompt arrest, by the timely administration of the serum, of membrane which was rapidly spreading downward below the larynx.

In establishing the value of the serum, nothing has been so convincing as the ability of Antitoxin, properly administered, to check the rapid spreading of membrane downward in the respiratory tract, as is attested by the observations of more than 350 physicians who have sent in reports.

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Turning now to the operative cases we find the same remarkable effects of the Antitoxin noticeable. Operations were done in 565 cases, or in 16.7 per cent of the entire number reported. Intubation was performed 533 times with 138 deaths, or a mortality of 25.9 per cent. In the above are included nine cases in which a secondary tracheotomy was done, with seven deaths. In thirty-two tracheotomy only was done, with twelve deaths, a mortality of 37.4 per cent. Of the 565 operative cases, sixty-six were either moribund at the time of operation, or died within twenty-four hours after injection. Should these be deducted, there remain 499 cases operated upon by intubation or tracheotomy, with 84 deaths, a mortality of 16.9 per cent.

Of the 2,819 cases not operated upon, there were 312 deaths, a mortality of 11.3 per cent. Deducting the moribund cases, or those dying within twenty-four hours after injection, the total mortality of all non-operative cases was 9.12 per cent.

Let us compare the results of intubation in cases in which the serum was used, with those obtained with this operation before the serum was introduced. Of 5,546 intubation cases in the practice of 242 physicians, collected by McNaughton and Maddren (1892), the mortality was 69.5 per cent. Since that time statistics have improved materially by the general use (in and about New York, at least) of calomel fumigations. With this addition, the best results published (those of Brown) showed in 279 cases a mortality of 51.6 per cent.

Let us put beside the cases of McNaughton and Maddren the 533 intubations with Antitoxin, with 25.9 per cent mortality. With Brown's personal cases let us compare those of the fourteen observers who have reported to the committee ten or more intubation operations each in cases injected with serum. These comprise 280 cases with sixty-five deaths, a mortality of 23.2 per cent. In both comparisons the mortality without the serum is more than twice as great as in the cases in which the serum was used.

But even these figurse do not adequately express the benefit of Antitoxin in laryngeal cases. Witness the fact that over one half the laryngeal cases did not require operation at all. Formerly 10 per cent of the recoveries was the record for laryngeal cases not operated upon. Surely, if it does nothing else the serum saves at least double the number of cases of laryngeal diphtheria that has been saved by any other method of treatment. The great preponderance of intubation over tracheotomy operations shows how much more highly the profession in this country esteems the former operation.

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The lay reader is scarcely able to correctly appreciate these words. The writer of this paper operated upon nearly a hundred cases of laryngeal croup in the days when the very best results to be expected were 25 per cent to 29 per cent recoveries. Note that it was the custom then to mention the percentage of recoveries; now we speak of the percentage of deaths. Witness the reports of some individual observers concerning intubation *with the serum:* Neff, New York: twenty-seven operations, with twenty-seven recoveries; Rosenthal, Philadelphia: eighteen operations, with sixteen recoveries; Booker, Baltimore: seventeen operations, with seventeen recoveries, including one aged ten months, and one seven and a half months; Seward, New York: eight operations, with eight recoveries; McNaughton, Brooklyn: "In my last seventy-two operations without serum, mortality 66.6 per cent; in my first seventy-two operations with serum, mortality 33.3 per cent." O'Dwyer, New York: "In my last 100 intubations, first seventy, without serum, mortality 73 per cent; last thirty, with serum, mortality 33.3 per cent."

Of the 450 fatal cases in the committee's report, 229, or one half, received their first injection of the serum on or after the fourth day of the disease, and 152, or more than one third of these, on or after the fifth day. There were fifty-eight cases in which it was stated that the child was moribund at the time of injection, the serum being administered without the slightest expectation of benefit, but at the earnest solicitation of the parents.

In stating the difficulties which are met in attempting to demonstrate the specific action of Antitoxin in man, the influence of delay in the administration of the remedy, a delay which allows the absorbed toxins to exert their harmful action upon the cells of the internal organs, has already been noted. The influence of this consideration is startlingly borne out by one of the statistical tables prepared by the committee. This table shows that of 4,120 cases injected within the first three days of the disease, there were 303 deaths, a mortality of 7.3 per cent, including every case returned. If from these are deducted the cases which were moribund at the time of injection, or which died within twenty-four hours, evidently hopeless cases, there were 4,013 cases with a mortality of 4.8 per cent. Behring's original claim that if cases were injected on the first or second day the mortality would not be 5 per cent, is more than substantiated by these figures. On the other hand, of 758 cases injected on the fourth day, 147 died, a mortality of 20.7 per cent; and of 690 cases injected on or after the

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fifth day, 244 died, a mortality of 35.3 per cent. Stronger evidence of the danger of delay could hardly be asked.

In this connection the excellent results attained by the Chicago Board of Health, using at that time Antitoxin prepared by the New York Board of Health, are worthy of note. The Chicago Health Department early recognized the value of bacterial cultures in the diagnosis of diphtheria, recognized the value of Antitoxin, and set the new machinery in motion at once. From the outset it worked without a jar. The New York Health Board, on the other hand, encountered an element in a most unexpected quarter in the medical profession, which element assumed to know apparently by intuition, so early did it come out, that the scientific minds of Germany, France, and England were mistaken. They flew into a frenzy, and, worst of all, their intuitions were carefully recorded in the public newspapers. At every outburst in the newspapers the work of the Health Department was embarrassed in that the ignorant and unreasoning objected to having put into their blood what the head-lines in their newspaper had warned them was liable to cause death in itself. Chicago on the other hand administered Antitoxin on the first visit in cases of undoubted diphtheria. See the results of timely injection: On the first day 106 cases, no deaths; 336 cases injected on the second day, with 5 deaths; 660 cases on the third day, and 18 deaths.

The tuberculin of Koch as a cure for tuberculosis was prematurely taken up by the public. It was another of the new things in medicine which was a failure. Close upon it followed another promised specific, and, prophetic coincidence, its name ended with *in*. This time the great name of Koch was not behind it. And certain wise men, with no one to advise them, caught an inspiration. With index finger aside the nose they reflected: it is new; it ends in *in* as tuberculin did; we will wait one week. One case in a public hospital, whether promising or not, died. Two or three others did no credit to the new remedy, and away went the dogs of war. No argument to await trial, no consideration as to whether the new remedy was produced in New York in appropriate strength or given in appropriate dose, no loyalty to hospital or to colleagues. The distrust consequent upon free publication of these adverse views among the laity in New York allows Chicago, using the same serum, to surpass us in recovery percentages.

In conclusion, emphasis may be laid upon the following facts:

Of 4,120 cases injected during the first three days, excluding moribund cases, the mortality was 4.8 per cent.

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The most convincing argument, and, to the minds of the committee, an absolutely unanswerable one in favor of serum therapy, is found in the results obtained in the 1,256 laryngeal cases (membranous croup). In one half of these recovery took place without operation, in a large proportion of which the symptoms of stenosis were severe. Of the 533 cases in which intubation was performed the mortality was 25.9 per cent, or less than half as great as has ever been reported by any other method of treatment.

The committee in editing its report, sought to exercise a judicial fairness while submitting Antitoxin to a most exacting trial. Tonsillar cases of mild type unconfirmed by bacteriological culture, recovering, were excluded as doubtful. Fatal diphtheria cases, whose diagnoses were unconfirmed by cultures, were included.

Animals are susceptible to the diphtheria of man. Antitoxin is a "specific" to this diphtheria in animals. There is every reason for believing it is "specific" in man. If it could be conceived humanly possible for a healthy baby one year old to receive by injection ten times a fatal dose of diphtheria toxin, produced by a virulent bacillus, and at the same time a proportionate dose of Antitoxin, there is every reason to believe that the baby would suffer only the transient pain of injection; would in fact behave exactly like the guinea-pig.

More than 600 physicians in their reports pronounced themselves as strongly in favor of the Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria, a great majority of them being enthusiastic in its advocacy.

Finally, to him who still feels distrust, who avers that statistics bring no conviction, that strong men are on either side, I would say: when he has seen one severe case of diphtheria clear up like darkness into daylight, he will look for no more argument. Since the days when Lister proposed antiseptics in surgery, medicine has not taken so great a step in advance.

W. P. NORTHRUP.

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MR. WHITE'S "WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY."

THE monumental work entitled "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology"[1] which ex-President White has at length brought to a close, is not likely, at first, to receive the attention it deserves. However accomplished and versatile the professional reviewers may be, it is manifestly impossible for them to bestow the somewhat dissipating courtesy of even a passing glance upon a score or more volumes a week, and at the same time keep in condition to make a careful and discriminating examination of those works of exceptional interest and importance with which from time to time our literature is enriched.

The work of Mr. White is, unquestionably, one of such exceptional interest and importance. It is the fruit of more than twenty-five years of investigation in the more or less obscure historical records of ancient and modern Europe. The author's equipment for his task has been all that could be desired. Several years of study in the universities of France, Germany, and Italy gave him easy command of all the most important European tongues; and, what has been of quite as much importance, brought to his service the vast resources of classical and medieval Latin. His private fortune enabled him to procure whatever he has needed in the prosecution of his work, and this process of accumulation brought together one of the richest private collections in the country. It is more than doubtful whether the notes in the volumes here published could be verified in any other library in the United States than in that noble collection of about twenty-five thousand volumes which the author some years ago presented to the library of the University with which he has been so prominently and honorably connected from its very beginning.

While Mr. White was Professor of History at the University of Michigan, he retained a political residence at his old home in Syracuse, New York. In consequence of a curious turn of political affairs in 1863, he was asked to accept a nomination for State senator. As-

[1] New York: D. Appleton & Co., 2 vols.

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suring himself that he could make temporary provision for his professorship at Ann Arbor, he accepted the nomination and was elected. In the senate he very naturally became Chairman of the Committee on Education; and in this capacity he was thrown immediately into close intimacy with Ezra Cornell, who interested him, not simply as a fellow member of the senate, but more particularly on account of the educational problems which were now beginning to take definite form in his mind. Mr. Cornell was not only a philanthropist by temperament and practice, but the possessor of a newly acquired fortune, accumulated in the construction of the first telegraph lines established in the country. His generous impulses resulted in a proposition to the State of New York to give half a million dollars for the founding of such a university as accorded with the ideas of Mr. White and himself, on condition, however, that the legislature should establish the institution at Ithaca, and should devote the income from the Morrill Grant of Congress to the same purpose. This generous offer, resulting, as it did, in the establishment of the University which perpetuates Mr. Cornell's name, made it the duty of Mr. White, as Chairman of the Committee on Education, to frame the charter of the new institution. Mr. Cornell and Mr. White—the former reared as a Quaker, and the latter as an Episcopalian—agreed in thinking that the new University should be entirely free from denominational bias. Accordingly, a clause was introduced into the charter declaring that at no time should a majority of either the Board of Trustees or the staff of instruction be of any one religious denomination, or of no denomination, and that no trustee, professor, or student should ever be elected, admitted, or excluded because of any peculiarity of religious or political belief.

While the position thus taken in this charter was substantially the same that has uniformly been taken by the State universities, the limiting conditions were a little more positive in their nature and the result was much more pronounced. The opposition of the denominational organs began at once. Mr. White says of it:—

"In the State Legislature it confronted us at every turn, and it was soon in full blaze throughout the State—from the good Protestant bishop who proclaimed that all professors should be in holy orders, since to the Church alone was given the command 'Go, teach all nations,' to the zealous priest who published a charge that Goldwin Smith—a profoundly Christian scholar—had come to Cornell in order to inculcate the 'infidelity of the *Westminster Review*'; and from the eminent divine who went from city to city denouncing the 'atheistic and pantheistic tendencies' of the proposed education, to the perfervid minister who informed a denominational synod that Agassiz, the last great opponent of Darwin, and a devout theist, was 'preaching Darwinism and atheism' in the new institution."

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What Mr. White calls "the period of sweet reasonableness," was soon worn out. He became convinced that there was a radical antagonism between the scientific view of the universe and the theological view, and that such antagonism could only be reconciled by a readjustment of religious methods of dealing with scientific questions. Accordingly, when invited to deliver a lecture in the great hall of the Cooper Institute he chose as his subject "The Battlefields of Science," and announced as the object of his lecture the establishment of the following thesis:—

"In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and, on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science."

This lecture proved to be what *Mrs. Balmes* no doubt would have called a "bumpshell" in the camp of Mr. White's enemies. The lecture awakened instantaneous outcry and opposition, and the many platforms on which he repeated it served only to increase the ferment. While Mr. White received, no doubt, abundant private assurances of approval, the criticisms of the denominational press and of the pulpit showed as much ignorance as bitterness. The attacks, moreover, were directed very largely against the University which the author represented. It was hardly to be expected that the lecturer would let the matter rest. The platform utterances which had stirred so much opposition were fortified at various points and published as two magazine articles. A little later these articles were still further amplified and issued as a small volume, which, besides attracting much attention at home, was republished in England and in several of the languages of Continental Europe. But the farther Mr. White went, the more he saw that the question could not be disposed of by anything less than a very comprehensive investigation. It must have been about 1885 when his thoughts in regard to an elaborate work assumed definite form. From time to time he has published in "The Popular Science Monthly" what he has called New Chapters in the Warfare of Science; and finally he has brought together the results of his twenty years of literary activity in the two handsome volumes now given to the public.

In estimating the value and importance of a work of this kind, it is essential, first of all, to obtain the author's point of view. The fact that these volumes have grown out of an effort to establish a thesis or

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doctrine, tends to cast a shadow of suspicion across the mind of the reader in regard to their historical importance. It is to be admitted that the early writings of the author on the subject were strongly polemical in their nature. Twenty years ago he wrote with a fiery zeal and with an obvious consciousness that he had to deal with an uncompromising enemy; but in the present volumes there are abundant evidences of a complete understanding that the battle has already been practically won, and, consequently, that it is unnecessary to continue the polemic method. Occasionally the author lapses into his earlier form of speech, but, taken as a whole, the spirit of the work is one to be most heartily commended. It is, perhaps, enough to say in this connection that, although the author writes in a reverent spirit and with entire freedom from bitterness, he shrinks from no conclusion to which he is brought by his researches. He shows no lack of respect for what he regards as the fundamental elements of religion, but he believes the creeds generally have been the result of imperfect knowledge and of the acceptance as fact of much that is merely allegorical and mythical. He holds, as did Cardinal Nicholas in the fifteenth century, and as so many thousands have since held, that the Scriptures are to be studied and interpreted precisely like any other book, and that insofar as they cannot be maintained in the face of ascertained fact and truth, they must either be interpreted anew, or be abandoned. Just as in the light of modern science we have been forced to accept the Biblical account of the creation of the world as merely allegorical or mythical, so without hesitation we must be ready for a similar modification of belief whenever the more common interpretation fails to accord with definitely established knowledge.

The application of this spirit to the Scriptures of the Old Testament results in a great number of interesting conclusions, many of which, no doubt, will be somewhat startling to conservative believers. A good illustration of his method of treatment is shown in his account of the Pillar of Salt into which Lot's wife is represented as having been converted. It was believed for two thousand years or more that the pillar was still standing at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and scores of medieval authors described the statue, or referred to it, as a fact not to be questioned. But when the matter came to be looked into, it was found that not a single one of these writers had ever visited the spot to make a personal examination. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the true nature of the facts was revealed. When, only a few years ago, Lieutenant Lynch and, a little later, the

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Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff visited and explored the Dead Sea in a scientific spirit, they found a high bluff of rocky salt, formed very naturally by the process of evaporation that from time immemorial had been going on. It was found that the rains periodically washed out channels and left intervening columns, or pillars, of salt, in which a fertile imagination has no difficulty in detecting some resemblance to the human form. On near approach, however, one of them resembles Lot's wife about as much as, from a near inspection, the "Old Man of the Mountain" resembles George Washington. In a similar way, when subjected to the test of actual inspection, the famous Apples of Sodom, instead of turning to ashes in the mouth, are found to be a well-known kind of pomegranate, containing a large number of small seeds, which, somebody may have said, were as dry as ashes.

These, and a host of similar examples which Mr. White presents, have brought him to the conclusion that the early history of the Jews was much like the early history of every other race, and that much of what is narrated as fact in the Old Testament is no more to be regarded as historically accurate, than are the stories of Homer, or, in fact, the story of "Alice in Wonderland." They are all intended for people of about the same stage of intellectual and scientific advancement.

Perhaps no more typical illustration of the author's method of treatment can be given than that which is afforded by his examination of the growth of the legends in regard to St. Francis Xavier. This great Jesuit missionary to India and Japan has been accredited by the Catholic Church with having performed a vast number of miracles, many of them consisting of a miraculous healing of the sick and the raising of the dead. Mr. White examines the history of Xavier with critical thoroughness, looking through all his letters, the letters of his associates, contemporary histories, and a multitude of subsequent biographies. All the authorities which he uses are Roman Catholic and are published with the sanction of the church. The result is curious indeed. In the writings of Xavier, which are so minute in their details as to enable the reader to follow him closely, there is no hint or semblance of any miracle. The same is true of the writings of his contemporary missionaries and of the contemporary historians; but within a few years after his death reports of miracles wrought by him begin to accumulate. Many of them can be traced to some incident of more or less typical significance. For example: Xavier relates that in the beginning of his career, during a journey with an ambassador, one of the servants, when fording a stream, got into deep water and was in

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danger of drowning. Xavier says that the ambassador prayed very earnestly for the safety of his servant, and that the man finally struggled out of the stream. But in the narrative a hundred years later, we find that the prayer of the ambassador has become the prayer of Xavier, and that this simple affair is magnified into a miracle, dressed out in glowing colors. The earlier biographies represent Xavier simply as miraculously saving the young man, but the later ones describe him as lifting the horse and rider out of the stream by a clearly superhuman act. Another illustration of the way in which these stories grew is given by an event that happened at Lisbon. When Xavier arrived there, he found his great colleague, Rodriguez, ill of fever. Xavier writes in a very simple way that Rodriguez was so overjoyed to see him that the fever did not return. It was a clear case of the influence of a powerful emotion over disease; like that which brought Melancthon to his feet from what was supposed to be his deathbed, when, after long delay, he was visited by Luther; like that which expelled the disease from Frederick the Great, as Carlyle says, "like a hiccough," when that monarch heard of the death of the Emperor of Austria. But Xavier's biographers regard the event as a miracle. A few occurrences of this kind in the writings of Xavier and his contemporaries form absolutely the only basis for the miracles attributed to him.

In all the letters of the numerous missionaries associated with Xavier and his immediate successors, though they are filled with most loyal and minute accounts of his work, including the note of every instance of Divine favor, there is not a single reference to anything claiming to be the exercise of any miraculous power. But there is more than this negative evidence. Not only is there no reference to any miracle wrought by him, but it is positively asserted by one of the greatest authorities, nineteen years after his death, that no miracles were wrought. Joseph Acosta, a provincial of the Jesuit order, Superior at Valladolid, and a little later Rector of the University of Salamanca, wrote a book on the conversion of the Indies, in which he refers with the greatest reverence to Xavier and holds him up as a model to all future missionaries; but, in accounting for the slowness of the world's conversion at the present time as compared with the more rapid methods of apostolic days, says that the cause lies in the fact that there is now no power of working miracles. Mr. White also calls attention to the fact that in all the proceedings of the Council of Trent, though there are frequent allusions to a multitude of things showing evidence of Divine favor in the East, not a hint is given of

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any power to work miracles. But it was not long after this time that the work of accumulation began. In 1588, thirty-six years after Xavier's death, the Jesuit, Father Maffei, published his "History of India," in which he gives a biography of Xavier and shows that the period of legend-making had begun. Six years later, another Jesuit, Father Tursellinus, publishes a life of Xavier, in which he represents the saint as "not only curing the sick, but casting out devils, stilling the tempest, raising the dead, and performing miracles of every sort." Thirty-four years later, that is in 1622, came the canonization. In the formal speech of presentation to the Pope by Cardinal Monte, ten of the great miracles of Xavier were elaborately described. The Cardinal declared that Xavier, by the sign of the Cross, had made salt water fresh, so that his fellow-passengers could drink of it and quench their thirst; that he healed the sick and raised the dead in various places; that he had on one occasion been lifted bodily from the earth and had been transfigured before the bystanders; that to punish a blaspheming town, he had caused an earthquake and buried the people in cinders from a volcano; that on one occasion, having lost his crucifix overboard, it was restored to him by a crab; and finally, that his relics, after death, had caused holy water, when poured into the lamps, to burn, as if the lamps had been filled with oil. In the Bull of Canonization, the Pope dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the fact that the saint had made holy water burn like oil.

But the most elaborate presentation was yet to come. In 1682, one hundred and thirty years after Xavier's death, appeared the "Life of Xavier" by Father Bouhours. Though the author had access to no authorities that had not been open to all his predecessors, the number of miracles was greatly multiplied. According to Tursellinus, Xavier saved one person from drowning; according to Bouhours, he saved three. The earlier history says he raised four persons from the dead; the latter says he raised fourteen. The earlier, that he was transfigured twice; the later, five times; and so on through a long series. But he not only multiplied the miracles, he amplified them. According to the first account, Xavier simply lost the crucifix in the sea, and the biographer dwells upon his sorrow over the loss. In the later one, the missionary, when caught in a storm, threw the crucifix into the raging waters in order to still the tempest; and in the next century the miracle is repeatedly represented in this form. Among the illustrations of the books of devotion, the later writer represents the "pious crab" as not simply presenting the crucifix to Xavier when he landed,

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but as having brought it "forty leagues from the depths of the sea," while Xavier was waiting and walking along the shore.

Another illustration of the same method of growth is shown in the representations of Xavier's methods of dealing with the various languages. The missionary in his letters dwells upon the difficulties he always had with the languages and dialects of the people he visited. He tells us how he surmounted these obstacles; sometimes he succeeded, with great difficulty, in learning just enough of a language to enable him to translate a few of the church formulas; sometimes by getting the help of others in patching together some pious teachings that could be learned by rote; and sometimes by employing interpreters. The letters show unmistakably that he had more than the usual difficulties in learning the Asiatic languages; but such a limitation would ill comport with the miraculous powers now ascribed to him. At first tentatively, and then confidently, it was asserted that he spoke to the various tribes with ease in their own language. The papal bull of canonization laid great stress upon the fact that he had the miraculous "gift of tongues." The legend was, of course, still further developed by Father Bouhours. This enthusiastic historian tells us that "The holy man spoke very well the language of these barbarians, without having learned it, and had no need of an interpreter when he instructed." The Rev. Father Coleridge, as late as 1872, echoing the statements of Bouhours concerning Xavier, says that "He could speak the language excellently, though he had never learned it"; and again that "He spoke freely, fluently, and elegantly, as if he had lived in Japan all his life."

It is impossible to give at length other illustrations. It must suffice to say that the volumes are teeming with examples of a similar nature; but some indication of the scope of the work should perhaps be given. In the chapter entitled "From Fetich to Hygiene," the author discusses "The Theological View of Epidemics and Hygiene," "The Gradual Decay of Theological Views regarding Sanitation"; "The Triumphs of Sanitary Science," and "The Relation of Sanitary Science to Religion." In the chapter entitled "From Demoniacal Possession to Insanity," he presents theological ideas of lunacy and its treatment, the beginnings of healthful scepticism and the final struggle and victory of science. In the chapter "From Babel to Comparative Philology," the subject is treated under the heads "The Sacred Theory in its First Form," "The Sacred Theory of Language in its Second Form," "The Breaking down of the Theological View," the "Triumph

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of the New Science," and the "Summary," embracing full acceptance of the new theories of all Christian scholars. In the chapter on "Astronomy," he discusses the old sacred theory of the universe, the heliocentric theory, the war upon Galileo, the victory of the church over Galileo, the results of this victory, and the retreat of the church after its victory. In the chapter "From Signs and Wonders to Law in the Heavens," he presents the theological view, showing the attitude of the church, Catholic and Protestant, down to the present time, the theological efforts to crush the scientific view, the invasion of scepticism and the final victory of science. In a very interesting group of chapters, he discusses the antiquity of man, prehistoric archæology, the fall of man and anthropology, the fall of man and ethnology, and the fall of man and history. In the chapter which he entitles "From the Prince of the Power of the Air to Meteorology," he presents the growth of a theological theory, the diabolical agency in storms, the agencies of witchcraft, and Franklin's lightning-rod. In the chapter entitled "From Magic to Chemistry and Physics," after discussing the history entitled "The Supremacy of Magic," he advances to "The Triumph of Chemistry and Physics." In one of the most typically significant of all the chapters, that entitled "From the Dead Sea Legends to Comparative Mythology," he traces the growth of explanatory transformation myths, medieval growth of the Dead Sea Legends, beginnings of a healthful scepticism, theological efforts of compromise, and the triumph of the scientific view. The chapter entitled "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism," is divided into six parts: "The Older Interpretation," "Beginnings of Scientific Interpretation," "The Continued Growth of Scientific Interpretation," "The Coming Struggle," "Victory of Scientific and Literary Methods," and finally, the "Reconstructive Force of Scientific Methods."

It would be unfair to the author to attempt, by an abridgment, to indicate the conclusions which he has reached. These conclusions, however, he has clearly stated near the end of his work. In the second volume, at page 207, he writes as follows:—

"It may, indeed, be now fairly said that the thinking leaders of theology have come to accept the conclusions of science regarding the origin of language, as against the old explanations by myth and legend. The result has been a blessing both to science and to religion. No harm has been done to religion; what has been done is to release it from the clog of theories which thinking men saw could no longer be maintained. No matter what has become of the naming of the animals by Adam, of the origin of the name Babel, of the fear of the Almighty lest men might climb up into his realm above the firmament, and of the confusion

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of tongues and the dispersion of nations; the essentials of Christianity, as taught by its blessed Founder, have simply been freed, by Comparative Philology, from one more great incubus, and have therefore been left to work with more power upon the hearts and minds of mankind.

"Nor has any harm been done to the Bible. On the contrary, this divine revelation through science has made it all the more precious to us. In these myths and legends caught from earlier civilizations we see an evolution of the most important religious and moral truths for our race. Myth, legend, and parable seem, in obedience to a divine law, the necessary setting for these truths, as they are successively evolved, ever in higher and higher forms. What matters it, then, that we have come to know that the accounts of Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and much else in our sacred books, were remembrances of lore obtained from the Chaldeans? What matters it that the beautiful story of Joseph is found to be in part derived from an Egyptian romance, of which the hieroglyphs may still be seen? What matters it that the story of David and Goliath is poetry; and that Sampson, like so many men of strength in other religions, is probably a sun-myth? What matters it that the inculcation of high duty in the childhood of the world is embodied in such quaint stories as those of Jonah and Balaam? The more we realize these facts, the richer becomes that great body of literature brought together within the covers of the Bible. What matters it that those who incorporated the Creation lore of Babylonia and other Oriental nations into the sacred books of the Hebrews, mixed it with their own conceptions and deductions? What matters it that Darwin changed the whole aspect of our Creation Myths; that Lyell and his compeers placed the Hebrew story of Creation and of the Deluge of Noah among legends; that Copernicus put an end to the standing still of the sun for Joshua; that Halley, in promulgating his law of comets, put an end to the doctrine of 'signs and wonders'; that Pinel, in showing that all insanity is physical disease, relegated to the realm of mythology the witch of Endor and all stories of demoniacal possession; that the Rev. Dr. Schaff, and a multitude of recent Christian travellers in Palestine, have put into the realm of legend the story of Lot's wife transformed into a pillar of salt; that the anthropologists, by showing how man has risen everywhere from low and brutal beginnings, have destroyed the whole theological theory of the 'fall of man'? Our great body of sacred literature is thereby only made more and more valuable to us; more and more we see how long and patiently the forces in the universe which make for righteousness have been acting in and upon mankind through the only agencies fitted for such work in the earliest ages of the world—through myth, legend, parable, and poem."

At the very conclusion of the book, the author also says:—

"Thus, at last, out of the old conception of our Bible as a collection of oracles—a mass of entangling utterances, fruitful in wrangling interpretations, which have given to the world long and weary ages of 'hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness'; of fetichism, subtlety, and pomp; of tyranny, bloodshed, and solemnly constituted imposture; of everything which the Lord Jesus Christ most abhorred—has been gradually developed through the centuries, by the labors, sacrifices, and even the martyrdom of a long succession of men of God, the conception of it as a sacred literature—a growth only possible under that divine light which the various orbs of science have done so much to bring into the mind and heart and

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soul of man—a revelation not of the Fall of Man, but of the Ascent of Man—an exposition, not of temporary dogmas and observances, but of the Eternal Law of Righteousness—the one upward path for individuals and for nations. No longer an oracle, good for the 'lower orders' to accept, but to be quietly sneered at by 'the enlightened'—no longer a fetich, whose defenders must become persecutors, or reconcilers, or 'apologists'; but a most fruitful fact, which religion and science may accept as a source of strength to both."

It would be too much to say that in the presentation of this great historical exposition the author has left nothing to be desired. While the work shows a judicious moderation of statement quite unlike Mr. White's earlier utterances on the same subject, it will probably be the ultimate judgment of historical scholarship that he might have still further guarded some of his positions with advantage to the permanent value of the work. As the author himself would be one of the first to admit, it is certainly true that in the course of this warfare, religious men, and even clergymen, have often fought valiantly on the side of advancing scientific truth. In illustration of this fact, scores, and perhaps hundreds, of instances, might be selected from the book itself; but nevertheless the impression which will probably be left upon the mind of the general reader is not altogether the correct one. It is not made quite sufficiently distinct that the body of knowledge which we call science is nothing except as it exists in the minds of men. It is not an individual entity, standing apart and fighting its way alone in opposition to any other body of belief or doctrine. The same is true of theology. Both of these great bodies of thought and truth, if such they may be called, have been subject to all the limitations of humanity through the whole course of its development. Both have often been present in the minds of the same men. Copernicus was a canon of the church as well as a scientific investigator, and his views had even previously been held by Cardinal de Cusa; Sir Isaac Newton held his theological doctrines as firmly as any archbishop of Canterbury. Cotton Mather, notwithstanding his aversion to witchcraft, was really in advance of his time in being among the foremost to accept the Newtonian astronomy, to favor inoculation, and to throw overboard the superstition regarding the Divine origin of the Hebrew points. And so it has been throughout the whole history of scientific advancement. The clergy, however ignorant at times, have uniformly been at least as well educated as any class of their contemporaries. Education always makes men conservative; and, though conservative, the clergy have uniformly been quite as thoughtful as the representatives of any other class of men. It has followed, as a natural and inevitable conse-

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quence, that they have sometimes opposed and sometimes approved new methods of thought. A typical example was Luther. No man ever lived who was less trammelled by current theological doctrines, and yet, while he accepted many of the advances of scientific truth, he held to many of the old doctrines, now regarded as absurd, with the greatest tenacity.

Within the guild of scientific men, the course of advancing truth has not been very different. When a new scientific theory has been promulgated, it has had to make its first conquests among scientific men themselves. Can it be said that Darwin was more bitterly opposed by the theologians than by his fellow-votaries of science? When the "Origin of Species" first appeared, Louis Agassiz is said to have remarked that he "should be ashamed of any Harvard sophomore who would write such trash"; and though he may have changed his view in regard to the average sophomore, he held to his opinion of Darwin's work to the last. When Sir William Simpson published one of his great works on Anæsthetics, his fellow professor of surgery, Sime, took the book before his medical class, excoriated it, tore it asunder, threw it upon the floor, and trampled it under foot, declaring it was a disgrace to Edinburgh University. Though Simpson returned gallantly to the charge and turned the laugh on his foe by such an argument as that the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam before he proceeded to the first great surgical operation, still it was not till the weapons were taken up by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers that the cause was won and the enemies were scattered. It is doubtful whether the *odium theologicum* has been more energetic than the *odium medicale*. Take the homeopathic question. Here the scientific men have been left to the monopoly of convincing the public whether the theory is right or whether it is wrong. It may well be doubted whether in this warfare the doctors of medicine have shown any larger measure of "sweet reasonableness" than has been shown during the same period by the doctors of divinity.

Nor can all the bearings of this great subject be fully understood without taking into account what may be called the tremendous power of the conservative element in human nature. We continue to wear buttons on the backs of our coats, because, it is said, at one time buttons were found convenient in holding up the sword belt; certainly buttons in such a place cannot now be defended either by utility or by the artistic canon that we may have "ornamental construction," but never "constructed ornament." We persist in using an awkward com-

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plication of weights and measures, instead of a far more convenient decimal system, and we do it for the same reason that the British hold tenaciously to their equally awkward monetary system of pounds, shillings, and pence. We defend our historical orthography with all its absurdities, and we resist with energy even the slightest movement in the direction of reform. The reason for all these energetic resistances is the simple fact that in human nature there is a fundamental element that refuses to be moved to innovation by a simple preponderance of reason, but is inclined ever to insist that the last obstacle to change shall first be removed. It was this element which Shakespeare reduced to the well-known aphorism concerning our reluctance to abandon the ills we have. It is only in the light of this fundamental characteristic that the general attitude of the clergy toward advances in science, as well as in politics, can be adequately explained.

Perhaps the most impressive fact in the study of history in a large way, is the slowness with which the various processes of evolution have been carried on. We have recently become accustomed to the contemplation of vast periods of time in the study of natural history, but we have not yet fully adapted ourselves to the equally impressive fact that civilization itself is only one phase of the slow processes of evolution. Everybody admits that the advances in various directions have been the resulting effect of a large number of contending forces, but we are not quite equally prompt in seeing that human nature has, at any given period, been essentially the same, and that no one class has monopolized the spirit of advance or the spirit of resistance.

An adequate consideration of these facts would, in the opinions of many, no doubt have added not a little to the value of this great work. But the object of the author seems to have been the presentation of the overwhelming array of facts and their consequences, rather than any philosophical discussion of their fundamental causes. Perhaps in the supplementary work which he intimates he may yet present, these several questions may be taken into consideration. But for what the author has given us, all candid readers will surely be profoundly grateful. To one who has not the book before him, it would be impossible to convey any adequate idea of the wealth of learning here brought together. One is constantly reminded of the erudition shown in such works as Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," and in Buckle's fragment on "The History of Civilization." But here the sweep is broader, and the sources used are more comprehensive. The very nature of the work, tracing, as it does, each

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one of some twenty different subjects through the whole range of history, calls for exceptional powers of judicious selection, and of discreet generalization. When tested by either of these exacting requirements, the volumes will not often be found wanting. Nor is the work made heavy by the weight of its learning. It moves on with the light but strong gait of a free and attractive style which tempts the reader to the end of the work. It is unquestionably one of the most important historical monuments yet reared by American scholarship, and whenever such an achievement appears, every scholar should give thanks.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

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PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

ANY one who, during the last few years, has followed the accounts given by the Parisian press, would most naturally conclude that the women's rights movement in France is powerfully organized, with a rational programme, and doing good substantial work. Now, in deference to truth, it must be admitted that this is not the case and—in spite of the admiration inspired by the sincerity and earnest enthusiasm of many of the women who for a number of years past have been recognized as the leaders of the movement—it must be confessed that the exact state of affairs would be most correctly described by the old English adage "Much cry, little wool."

Prior to the great revolution of 1789 Frenchwomen possessed many important rights which resulted from their social position. Under feudal rule they were invested with the same rights as men. They were raised to the rank of duchess, peeress, electress, judge, and ambassadress. They frequently sat in Parliament as peers of France and they retained their prerogatives in public ceremonies. We are told of Mahant, Countess of Artois and Burgundy, that she was present at the coronation of Philip V at the cathedral of Rheims, and that she supported the crown with the other peers of the realm. She also sat as judge at the trial of Robert d'Artois, as well as in several other celebrated cases. History tells us of young girls who, by right of inheritance, sat as judges at the assize courts; presiding at trials and wearing the plumed head-gear and the long robe before their assessors, who could not pronounce judgment in the absence of these youthful feudal knights. When the Countess of Narbonne complained to Louis "the Young" of being interfered with in the right of administering justice, the monarch defended her and maintained her jurisdiction. The signatures of three women appear on the Treaty of Cambray. And it was a woman, Claude Catherine of Clermont, who was commissioned to make the official reply to the ambassadors who came to announce the election of Duke Henri d'Anjou to the throne of Poland.

When in 1694 Louis XIV curtailed the rights of the women of the

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French nobility in order to endow and give letters to his illegitimat children, he did more to hasten the French revolution which was, a hundred years later, to strike the death-blow of monarchy in France, than did Louis XV with all his abominable vices, or than poor, weak, prevaricating Louis XVI, in whose lifetime the crash came. This spoliation of women, this absorption of the nation's power into royal omnipotence, was one of the gravest of political errors. It destroyed the equilibrium of the state, and France has not yet recovered her balance.

The great thinkers of the revolutionary era saw the danger of excluding women from their just share in the duties and responsibilities of public life: Condorcet, for instance, vigorously advocated the cause of women; his clear, lucid mind perceived how illogical was the clamor for liberty, if half the nation was to be deprived of its benefits.

In the midst of the terror and turmoil of the first revolution, but few women ventured to assert their rights, and the doubtful reputation of those who did has been said to be the proof that virtuous women are content to submit to the subordinate position assigned to them. The names of Théroigne de Méricourt, Olympe de Gouges, and others have been handed down as a shame to their sex; as much for the vindication of their rights as for what was immoral in their lives. The inconsistency of this argument is patent, for modern French Republicans do not measure the Heberts, the Chaumettes, the Legendres, of the period by the same criterion. Nor is it fair to plead that, because women did not claim their rights, they were therefore indifferent to them.

The old customals of the French provinces show that women of the lower and middle classes belonging to trades guilds and corporations very frequently possessed the same rights as men. In many cases there was no distinction, the post occupied carrying with it certain advantages which were enjoyed by the holder, whether male or female; just in the same way that the women of the aristocracy, or of religious orders, had the right to perform the duties and take the benefits of the rank they had inherited, or which had been conferred upon them. The working women of France could not suppose that the Republic would deal more hardly with them than other governments had done! As for the women of the aristocracy, and the nuns, they cannot be reproached with not having taken the opportunity to claim the restitution of their feudal rights. At that time the clergy and the *noblesse* had much difficulty in saving their lives, and were bound to consider themselves fortunate if they escaped the guillotine. When, after a period of wild licentiousness, the inevitable reaction came, the French

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legislators, imitating their Roman predecessors under similar circumstances, compiled the Civil Code, or Code Napoléon, which is still the civil law of France—and which classes woman amongst criminals and the insane, and gives her, when married, the legal status of an infant.

Subsequent revolutions have done nothing to improve the condition of women; indeed, the revolution of 1830 ousted them from some important places they occupied in government employ, as agents for the sale of salt and tobacco, both of which are state monopolies. The Republicans of 1848, in spite of—perhaps because of—the mawkish sentimentality which characterized the period, did nothing for women. They were too busy reclaiming their own enfranchisement, which they naïvely proclaimed "universal," to concern themselves about female emancipation. After 1852 came long years of enforced silence when men, much less women, hardly dared whisper a word of discontent.

"Juliette Lamber's" book, "Les Idées Anti-Proudhonaiennes," published in 1858, was not a vindication of women's rights, but a very clever retort to Proudhon's coarse and virulent attack on women. It was the signal that another brilliant female writer had arisen on the French literary horizon; but, as her subsequent life and writings have proved, it by no means implied that Mme. Juliette Adam belonged to the little band of "advanced women." During the Second Empire we find no trace of a women's movement until 1866, when the leaven of divine discontent began to ferment. Early in the year a remarkable work entitled "La Femme Pauvre au XIX Siècle" had been crowned by the Academy of Lyons. Its author was Mlle. Julie Daubié, who in 1862 had taken her literary degree at Paris. The fact that such an important work was from the pen of the first woman who had taken a university degree in France, drew attention to the frequent deplorable ignorance of Frenchwomen as being one of the chief causes of their subjection. A society for the reclamation of the rights of women was consequently founded and an address drawn up and signed by about forty women,—amongst whose names we find those of Caroline de Barrau, Noémi Réclus, Maria Deraismes, and Louise Michel,—calling on their fellow countrywomen to "beware and take heed of the sorry position they held as wives, mothers, and citizens," at the same time pointing out the necessity of a better education. To this end it was proposed that a school for girls should be opened in Paris, from which all religious teaching should be carefully excluded. The introduction of this proviso was undoubtedly a mistake. This mixing up of politics and religion with the women's question has been one of the great reasons of the unsuccess of the movement in France.

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Then again, proclaiming the women's movement to be Republican, was, to say the least, injudicious. Until women have got the franchise they can neither be Republicans nor Monarchists; it is therefore foolish to stamp them beforehand as belonging to this or that political camp. The Republic had done nothing to emancipate women, and the very name of Republican was bound to be distasteful to the *noblesse*, and calculated to alienate those women whose wealth and social position would have been such useful adjuncts to the cause. As we shall see later, the greatest obstacles to the progress of the movement have been the indifference and, in many cases, the hostility of Frenchwomen themselves. Since the beginning of the movement up to the present time women have been the greatest opponents to their own emancipation, and the majority of them in France are thus hostile, not only because they are profoundly ignorant of its signification, but because they disapprove of the socialistic and irreligious attitude of most of the leaders. It is all very well to say that in order to become good citizens women should first become Republicans and freethinkers—but if they are neither, what then? Besides, the argument is not applied to men!

The proposed school was, however, never founded; for before the necessary funds were forthcoming, the Franco-Prussian war broke out and the Third Republic was proclaimed, and then there was no need of a special school for girls. Free education was decreed for children of both sexes throughout the land, and to its honor be it said, and thanks in a great measure to the efforts of MM. Camille Sée, Paul Bert, and Victor Duruy, the Third Republic has done more for the education of women than any previous government.

It was about this time that M. Léon Richer started his paper "L'Avenir des Femmes," which was afterward put into pamphlet form with its title changed to "Le Droit des Femmes." Mlle. Daubié also founded a society called the "Association for the Progressive Emancipation of Women," but unfortunately she died in 1874 and the little society dwindled and ultimately disappeared. Meanwhile Mlle. Maria Deraismes—who for twenty years was to personify the woman's movement in Paris—was coming to the front and taking a prominent place as a public speaker; whilst her salon was rapidly becoming the rendezvous of the most advanced Republican and freethinking politicians of the day. Maria Deraismes's success was prodigious, and in consequence M. Léon Richer very appropriately proposed that she should be asked to become the president of the society he had founded for the

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improvement of the condition of women. This she accepted, and until her death, in 1894, she retained the post.

Reports of the stir made in Paris, in regard to the women's movement, by Maria Deraismes and M. Léon Richer, went rapidly throughout France. Even in the distant provinces it was dimly perceived that something was in the air. In sober, staid households many girls—like Hubertine Auclert—were fired with enthusiasm and were all agog to come to Paris and revive the old traditions of the women of the first revolution. It is at this time that we perceive the first signs of one special trait of Maria Deraismes's otherwise excellent character, which, while it undoubtedly helped her to retain nominal authority at the head of the movement, was nevertheless frequently harmful to it. She was despotic, and lacked that primordial quality of great leaders,—a quality which has ever been one of the distinctive characteristics of all great generals,—the ability to recognize and utilize talent or merit in the rising soldiers of her army. Now, unquestioning obedience is the last thing to demand of women,—it grows rarer every day in men even, and still less are women educated to it. Women know nothing—at any rate in France—about discipline, excepting in convent life. Up to the present day women have not been educated to any great extent; they must by perpetual gropings adapt themselves as best they can to circumstances and environment. A leader who expects blind obedience from undisciplined troops must be in a position to enforce it, or the troops will desert in the midst of the fray. Being brave and single-minded, they will, as best they can, form little separate camps and from some vantage ground continue the fight; but there will be waste of powder and shot in futile skirmishing, and when fresh ammunition is most needed at some particular point, none will be forthcoming; so that defeat—at least partial and temporary—is the inevitable result. Others, eager to be taken into action, become discouraged because they never even see the smoke or hear the din of battle; they drop out of the ranks, lag behind and never again rejoin the main body of the army.

Hubertine Auclert was one of the first to break away and found a new society, "Le Droit des Femmes." She believed and still believes that women in France will get their civil rights only when they have obtained the franchise and have a voice in the making of the laws, and that the only effective mode of action was that employed by the women of the first revolution; not taking into consideration that the recollection of the uproarious proceedings of

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those women was perhaps uppermost in the minds of the men who reelaborated the laws which will—until they are abolished—prove an insurmountable obstacle to the admission of women to the franchise. Each and every time since the first revolution, until Mme. Vincent and some others at the last electioneering period in 1893 attempted to get inscribed on the list of electors, the result has been the same. The municipal authorities have never, even when favorably disposed, been able to elude the special stipulations of the Civil Code by which "all persons under age, or of notoriously disorderly and immoral lives, all lunatics and persons of unsound mind and *women*" are excluded from the franchise and from all other political privileges.

Maria Deraismes had studied the laws of her country too well not to be aware of this obstacle, which stands like a stronghold between women and the suffrage. She knew that battlement after battlement must be demolished before women can take possession of their right of citizenship. Numbers of women do not know this, or, at any rate, do not sufficiently realize its importance and consequent influence on the tactics to be employed in the attack on the vast citadel which Frenchmen have so carefully fortified about their political rights. The International Women's Congress held in 1878, of which Maria Deraismes was president, would have given an excellent opportunity for making this clear. If, instead of preventing Hubertine Auclert from speaking at the Congress, Maria Deraismes and M. Léon Richer had "taken the bull by the horns" and fought the matter out there and then, much waste of time and energy might have been saved. Maria Deraismes's eloquence would undoubtedly have carried the day and perhaps assured some years of unquestioning obedience—the troops would have known how and where they were being led!

The rebuff Hubertine Auclert had received only served to confirm her in her opinion and stimulate her to further action, which, however, proved to be detrimental to the cause she so ardently and sincerely wished to serve. The following year, at the Socialist Congress held at Marseilles, she succeeded in getting the principle of women's political equality recognized and accepted as part of the electoral programme of the socialist working men of France. Thus encouraged by what she considered the greatest political power in the country, she made every effort to get women's names put down on the electoral lists. In 1886 she carried the question before the Council of Prefecture, went herself to plead her cause before the Council of State, and ultimately succeeded in getting above two thousand signatures to a

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petition which M. Clovis Hugues laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies, asking "that unrepresented women (spinsters and widows) should be admitted to the exercise of their civil rights."

The Congress held in 1878 had demonstrated, if not the open hostility, at least the complete indifference of the majority of Frenchwomen to the question of women's rights. In order, therefore, to attract attention to, and arouse some interest in, the subject, Maria Deraismes addressed a circular to women in business, encouraging them to join their claims to those of the small shopkeepers and tradesmen, who were at that time agitating to obtain the right of vote at the elections of the judges of the Tribunal of Commerce. Seventeen thousand copies of this circular were sent by post to as many women merchants, shopkeepers, and tradeswomen; but to this direct appeal the committee received only *two* replies, one of which was slightly abusive. This was disappointing and embarrassing; so, after deliberation, it was decided not to let the state of the case be too widely known, but, inasmuch as a few deputies and senators were favorably disposed, to proceed boldly and not to be discouraged by present difficulties. So the work was undertaken and the battle fought with hardly any help from those who were to be benefited by it.

A few days before her death Maria Deraismes had the satisfaction of knowing that success had crowned her long and patient efforts. The bill admitting women in business to vote at the elections of judges of the Tribunal of Commerce, passed the Senate and became law just eleven years after the first reading at the Chamber of Deputies in 1883. The bill had not really passed when the Senate, by an act of courtesy, assured Maria Deraismes, as she lay a-dying, of its success. During the discussion of the new law in the Senate its grammatical accuracy was called in question and it was returned on that ground to the Chamber of Deputies. But unfortunately, although the bill was promptly sent back again, with its wording changed to suit the grammatical fastidiousness of the Senate, it was no longer the liberal measure its friends and advocates had hoped for. The new law, while it allows women to vote at the elections of male judges, specially stipulates that women shall not be elected as judges of the Tribunal of Commerce, whereas previously this was merely implied from the general tenor of other laws. There is therefore a new difficulty to be overcome when next the matter is brought before the French Parliament.

Meanwhile a more friendly feeling was gradually growing up—chiefly amongst Protestants—doubtless inspired by accounts of what

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women were accomplishing in other countries, and fostered by women of talent like Mme. de Barrau and her sister Mme. d'Abbadie d'Arrast. This feeling was only latent, and but slightly lessened the hitherto undisguised opposition; still, while it did little to diminish the hostile attitude toward the recognized leaders of the women's movement, it at least admitted the justice of some of their demands.

The effects of this feeling were visible when, long before the opening of the Paris Exhibition, plans began to be laid for an International Women's Congress to be held in 1889. It was then proposed to Mlle. Deraismes that a vast women's congress should be organized, of which her special work should form a section, and of which some celebrated person should be asked to become the president. M. Jules Simon's name was proposed as it was well known that he approved of the women's movement, and his acceptance was thought likely to ensure recognition from the government and an official position for women in the great Exhibition of that year; and this conjecture afterward proved to be right. Maria Deraismes, however, declined to agree to this arrangement. She did not consider it compatible with her position as a freethinker to belong to any assembly or association under M. Jules Simon's direction or presidency. Nor was this view altogether illogical, for she was president of the French League of Freethinkers, and in 1882 she had been made a Freemason by the Freethinkers' Lodge at Pecq[1]; whereas M. Jules Simon had not long before taken a decided attitude on the question of religious teaching in the national free schools for children, and had pronounced himself unhesitatingly in favor of "God in the school." So Maria Deraismes and her friends organized an International Women's Congress exclusively for the treatment and study of the women's rights question, whose meetings were held at the rooms of the Geographical Society. The organizers of the Official International Women's Congress were nearly all Protestants, and the societies represented were chiefly charitable and benevolent institutions directed and worked by women, of whom none was Catholic.

This question of religious differences cannot be passed over when treating of the women's question in France, because of the stress laid upon it by the women themselves. As I before pointed out, what-

[1] Whatever Maria Deraismes may have thought of the validity of her investiture as a Freemason, the Grand Orient of France treated it as irregular and for this departure from masonic usages the Pecq Lodge has been condemned to lie dormant ever since.

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ever may be the religious attitude of *political* France, the majority of Frenchwomen are Catholics; whereas up to January, 1893, when the society "l'Avant-Courrière" was founded, the women's movement in Paris was ostensibly hostile to Catholicism, and the tenets of its leaders extreme Republicanism. To the initiated, the women's congresses held in 1889 were a clear demonstration of the state of the women's movement in France. First there was the official congress, presided over by M. Jules Simon, and composed of divers benevolent institutions under the direction of women, though but very remotely relating to the question of women's rights. Second, the non-official congress, held under the auspices of the "Society for the Improvement of the Condition of Women and the Reclamation of their Rights," and the "French League of Women's Rights," over which Mlle. Deraismes presided. This distinction was difficult for strangers to make and many mistakes have been made in consequence of the confusion. The two congresses numbered barely a thousand persons, the mass of the nation remaining ignorant of and indifferent to the subject, saving a few well-educated and intelligent women; and they were clearly hostile on religious or political grounds. The two congresses were active and energetic and did good work. Women came to know each other better, and with better knowledge came better feeling. Amongst the more thoughtful, too, it came to be pretty generally admitted that women are justified in most of their claims and that there was room outside Maria Deraismes's and M. Léon Richer's societies for some association of no special political or religious tendency: simply groups of men and women united on one point, namely, the amendment of laws concerning women, with perhaps no other point of contact of opinion; Catholics using their own and their friends' influence; Protestants theirs, as well as freethinkers', to help women of all classes and denominations to obtain justice where it is denied them. Unhappily this innovation received neither welcome nor approbation from Mlle. Deraismes, who, with most of her collaborators, looked upon it as disloyalty to herself and as so much energy diverted from what she considered the only true course of action, and likely, therefore, to be detrimental to the Republic itself. For twenty years and more her supremacy had been undisputed, and she could not endure this apparently harmful deviation of the women's movement.

A powerful association was nevertheless gradually forming. Among its earliest members were the leading journalists of Paris, deputies and senators of every shade of opinion, celebrated scientists and jurists,

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and a few of the best-known female authors, amongst whom was Mme. Adam,[1] now for the first time taking part in the women's movement. Then, as if to give special significance to the new mode of action, a few women of the old French aristocracy, notably the Duchesse d'Uzès, joined the movement. With such a staff the actual work was comparatively easy and I willingly consented to direct the young association; and we started "l'Avant-Courrière" on January 30, 1893.

Taking into consideration that the Civil Code is the one great obstacle to the emancipation of women in France, we decided to attack it. Not, however, in its entirety, as had previously been attempted, but piecemeal, beginning by what appeared to be least defended by our opponents and therefore easiest of conquest; at the same time choosing the point which should logically come first, as the foundation of women's freedom. We were not long in coming to the conclusion that, financial freedom being the root of all liberty, we must first set to work to obtain for married women the right to their own earnings. After having decided what we intended to do, the next decision to be taken was how we should proceed to do it; so, after settling the preliminary questions of membership and funds, the first point on which we agreed was that each member should be free to choose his or her mode of action, each one working as occasion and situation might permit for the furtherance of the cause in hand. But, as a natural consequence of this freedom of action, each member was to undertake the entire responsibility of his or her acts and pay the cost thereof. Thus free scope would be given for individual initiative; while the society of "l'Avant-Courrière" only took the responsibility of whatever was the common action of the entire association and accepted as such by me.

Next, in consideration of the social odium thrown on the women's rights question, which threatened to deter a great many women from joining us, we stipulated that no name but mine should be published unless by permission. After nearly four years' existence we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on having made our rules so elastic. Each one of us has been able to do the work best adapted to her means and surroundings, and we have found help and encouragement on all sides. One great printing firm after another has printed for us without charge. The press throughout the length and breadth of the land has spoken good things of us. When we decided to placard all Paris and some of the provincial towns, our great, flaming posters cost us nothing but the stamp duty. The artist, A. Lepère, designed

[1] Editor of "La Nouvelle Revue."

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our emblem, a dreary barren landscape with the rising sun just visible above the horizon,—woman's land, with the glimmer of hope in the distance,—and one of the best known printers in Paris printed it for us on paper given by another friend. A gang of billposters worked all night, generously giving their help, and on the morning of January 18, 1894, the papers told the Parisians how the walls of their city were covered with an appeal in favor of women. Ever since, our work has continued in the same way. In March, M. Léopold Goirand, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, wrote me expressing sympathy and offering his aid. On July 7 he laid our Married Women's Earnings Bill on the table of the Chamber. In January, 1895, he was nominated *rapporteur* of the parliamentary commission charged with the study of the question, and on February 27, 1896, the bill, conferring upon married women the power of free disposition of their earnings, passed the Chamber of Deputies without opposition—the first time in French history that a women's rights movement has received support from the government. It is difficult to predict what reception we shall get in the Senate, yet even there we have many friends and therefore have the right to be hopeful.

This very important modification of the French marriage laws affects about 4,500,000 workwomen, not to speak of authors, musicians, painters, actresses, teachers, shop-assistants, and domestic servants,—in all about 6,000,000 women-workers who, if married, have, as the law now stands, no right to their own earnings, if that right has not been stipulated for by a legal agreement made at the time of their marriage. Otherwise the French wife may not even work, much less economize, for herself without her husband's leave. The wage of her labor belongs by right of law to her husband, and he alone has the right to spend or otherwise dispose of it as he pleases. The pecuniary position of the Frenchwoman, whose marriage contract is that of the communion of goods, is worse than that of the old Roman slave, for he at least had a right to his *peculium*.

The limits of this article do not admit of more than a brief enumeration of the employments and professions now open to women; nor, indeed, can the subject be legitimately included under the head of the women's movement. First, because these professions and employments have not become accessible to women through any direct action or intervention on their part, such as the claiming of a right; but have been gradually and, in some cases one may say, individually, opened to them. On the other hand, in opening some employments to women

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men have been guided solely by motives of economy. Women are employed by the Post Office, Telegraph Office, Railway Companies, and many of the larger private companies, because they are paid about half what men earn for the same amount of work. The same may be said of the women employed by the state as teachers and schoolmistresses. Women are also free to enter any profession, provided the practice does not clash with any article of the Civil Code. Thus, a woman may study law, and take the highest degrees and honors at examinations; but she cannot practise, because the law requires that a barrister should be sworn into office, and this can only be done by a person in full possession of civil and political rights, and we have seen that women are named amongst those excluded:—"All persons under age, or of notoriously disorderly or immoral life, all lunatics and persons of unsound mind and *women* are excluded from parliamentary franchise and from all other political privilege"; furthermore, if she be married, "a woman can neither buy nor sell, nor can she appear in court save by her husband's authorization."

The practice of medicine does not offer the same difficulties, the healing art being considered as a private transaction between doctor and patient. Like other women, however, the woman doctor cannot give a legal signature to a certificate of birth or death. She may have attended a woman in childbirth, the mother may have died subsequently, and the doctor alone have been present at the birth of the infant and the death of the mother; yet she may not sign the certificates of birth and death. Her testimony is worthless. The Code classes this highly educated and cultivated woman with "criminals and the insane"!

I shall never forget the phases by which I came to realize the exact legal status of the Frenchwoman and the real attitude of the French masculine mind on the subject. More than a quarter of a century ago two or three English girls, of whom I was one, came to Paris in order to get the medical education denied us in our own country. It was with no small amount of delighted astonishment that we found everybody, up to the dean himself, ready and willing to help us. With the coarse brutality of the student mob and the undisguised hostility of some of the professors of Edinburgh University still fresh in our recollection, some of us jumped to the conclusion that the kindness of the Paris professors and the frank cordiality of the students were due simply to the recognition of women's rights. Such a belief was not unreasonable under the circumstances. We were breathing the brisk,

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exhilarating air of Paris and at every turn our ears could catch the sound of the "Marseillaise," which everybody was singing—"Liberté, liberté cherie . . . !" The atmosphere was full of "Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité"—especially in the Latin Quarter.

After a time, however, and by degrees, it became evident, even to the most enthusiastic amongst us, that the reception we had met with as medical students was not in the remotest degree due to a sense of equality or of justice, but simply one of the forms of French politeness to women: a mixture of gallantry and condescension, and that, saving the mode of expressing it,—a mere question of race and environment,—the animosity against "emancipated women" was quite as keen here as on the other side of the channel. This was fully demonstrated when Dr. Blanche Edwards tried to obtain the post of house surgeon in one of the Paris hospitals.

From what precedes it must not be inferred that in France women are intellectually behind those of other countries. The names of Rosa Bonheur, Madeleine Lemaire, Louise Abbema, the Duchesse d'Uzès, Mme. Coutan, Elisa Bloch, Augusta Holmes, Mme. Adam, Severine Arvède Barine, Jane Dieulafoy, Mlle. Klumpké, Mme. Moucheur de Mélotte, and Mme. Boucicault are amongst the foremost in art, music, literature, science, industry, and commerce, while millions of women form the rank and file in the vast army of women-workers. But it must be said that as a rule Frenchwomen have a tendency to avail themselves of exceptional privileges separately and gradually accorded them rather than to combine and fight for the principle of a right. This characteristic, however, should by no means make us despair of the future of women in France. The emancipation of women will be the work of men, and that some of the finer minds in the University of France realize whither they are conducting the rising generation of women, was strikingly indicated the other day in a speech made by M. Arnaud at the Cahors College for Girls. He said:—

"The woman's question is not the least important part of the social question in France, and our legislators are beginning to realize that equality of education implies equality of rights for women. As her place in the household and in the family becomes more and more important, so, as a natural consequence of progress, must woman's sphere outside the home circle be widened and elevated."

Such words as these, spoken by a high functionary of the state, are most comforting and encouraging; and if some seed has fallen by the wayside and some on stony places, let us hope that this will have fallen on good ground, and in the lives of these young students will

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bring forth fruit a hundred-fold for the good of the Republic. With the higher education of women the old days are fast disappearing when earnest and active women who did not marry had no alternative but convent life, where their faculties were atrophied and all individuality and initiative were destroyed.

JEANNE E. SCHMAHL.

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CARDINAL MANNING AND HIS BIOGRAPHER.

THE mass of conflicting opinions brought out by Edmund Sheridan Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning" is sufficient proof that this remarkable biography is both defective and inconclusive. It hardly needed the announcement of another book on the same personage to assure the public that efforts would be made to present a true portrait of the Cardinal of Westminster as an offset to Mr. Purcell's daring caricature. The caricature made necessary the speedy production of a speaking portrait by a capable artist; while the remarkable incapacity displayed by Mr. Purcell in the use of his material demanded a new and scientific arrangement of that material by more experienced hands.

From first to last the biography has scarcely a trace of the Cardinal, except in the extracts from his own letters and writings. The portrait is not the Manning of the Vatican Council, or of the great strike in London, but the Manning of the bath-tub, where greatness disappears in the healthful but ridiculous pastime of washing the human skin. It is a portrait of littleness and of meanness. Hence, it is not to be wondered at that the men who stood close to Manning from the beginning of his career as a Catholic, and who were intimately acquainted with the great movements of his life,—men like Cardinal Vaughan for instance,—should vigorously protest against the truth of Mr. Purcell's portrait. It is not a difficult task to explain this biographer, for his book has made him as obvious as it has obscured his unfortunate hero. *The task which he undertook was too large for him.* The cleverest writer might honestly hesitate before the difficult work of putting a right estimate on Manning's career, sure that it would thoroughly task his abilities. The Errington struggle and its effects, the single episode of the Vatican Council, the fight on the Temporal Power, the difference with Newman, the social activities of Manning, the educational struggle, the contrast between Catholic conditions in 1865 and then in 1890,—are themes for a strong mind and a mighty pen. Mr. Purcell touches them off as one would a rocket, and the reader of the "Life" finds them barren under Mr. Purcell's treatment as any stick.

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With his abundant material he might have written the first and the last word, for all practical purposes, on Manning's career. The general refusal to take his work seriously is a fair measure of his success. Undoubtedly he meant well, as all such people do; *and he worked on a sound principle, of which he made the worst possible use.* For some centuries the department of biography among Catholics has suffered much from its chief tradition—that only ideal portraits are to be produced. In consequence the lives of many saints are as readable and as real as descriptions of the Chimæra; all clerical heroes are models for Bayard; and Catholics rarely know that St. Philip Neri and St. Charles Borromeo had occasional quarrels. A reaction has set in against this tradition, and Mr. Purcell wrote his biography on its topmost wave. He was evidently determined to present the human side of a great churchman as they view great churchmen in Rome, where men with their schemes and motives are seen by the Röntgen ray. This aim was laudable, but he did not attain it. *Environment was too much for him.* The Manning of his biography is human, but little and mean at the same time; and, though a prelate of rank and power, he is such a prelate as the diplomatic lobby in Rome imagine all prelates to be,—selfish wirepullers, visiting Rome to roast their chestnuts at the Pope's fire, secret as ostriches with their heads in the sand, at whom the lobby can laugh with impunity. So determined was Mr. Purcell that we should feel the human in his hero, that he will not allow us to reach a conclusion on any point of Manning's life unaided; and, lest we should imagine this or that move to spring from pure virtue, he is careful to expose the particular wire which the Cardinal was then pulling.

Incapacity for so severe a work, determination to avoid the ideal altogether, and the nasty, courtier habit of finding a very mixed motive for every human action,—these three things are the explanation of Mr. Purcell and his biography. The average critic is not aware of the influence exercised upon the biographer by the last two. It would be necessary for him to read the ordinary Catholic life of a saint or noted cleric, with its marked avoidance of all that was human in the subject, to understand how easily such a mind as Mr. Purcell's would rush to the opposite extreme; and also to live for a month *en famille* with the lobbyists of the Papal court, to learn how thoroughly these people strip uprightness, simplicity, and enthusiasm of their natural light and reduce saints and heroes to the level of the money-lender, as do lobbyists everywhere. Nevertheless the average critic might have taken warning from the inconclusive character of the book, the author's

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inability to write English or to handle his material, and the strong protests of Manning's friends; if this had been done, such displays of temper and inaccuracy as were made by a recent writer in THE FORUM would have been avoided. Large as are Mr. Purcell's volumes, their contents do not warrant the statement that the "Life" is "a complete view of an extraordinarily imperfect nature," that the fact of popularity appealed to Manning always, that he was led by the lust of power all his days, and that his moral nature changed for the worse with his entrance into the Roman Catholic communion. Natures extraordinarily imperfect do not attain to eminence such as Manning's and hold it through a quarter of a century with the fierce light of controversial combat playing upon them. The deep and overpowering love of his fellows, which dominated Manning's career and piled up his labors mountain-high, is not the prerogative of even a slightly imperfect nature.

The completeness of Mr. Purcell's biography is denied on every side, and the denial finds good backing in statements of the kind just analyzed. It was hardly a love of popularity which led Manning out of the popular Anglican communion into the despised and insignificant Roman church in England, placed him in the Errington opposition, made him the target of English journalism in the disputes over Infallibility and the Temporal Power, the target of the English people in his friendliness and support of the Irish, and often the scorn of his own in his struggle on the Temperance and other social questions. He himself wrote:—

> "If I had wished for my reward in this world, I should not have spoken out to the last syllable what I believe to be true. I have consciously offended Protestants, Anglicans, Gallican Catholics, National Catholics, and worldly Catholics, and the Government, and public opinion in England, which is running down the Church and the Holy See in all ways and all day long."

Purcell writes:—

> "Mgr. Talbot was emboldened to suggest Manning as a candidate [in succession to Wiseman]. But Cardinal Barnabo at once repudiated the suggestion, and declared that from the letters and reports sent to the Propaganda it was evident that Manning's nomination would inevitably provoke dissension and schism in England."

Men who seek popularity do not choose to stand so completely alone, and the lust of power avoids isolation and seeks combination. There is no evidence of deterioration of the moral nature in a man who turned his back on an Anglican mitre for conscience' sake, put aside

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the building of a cathedral that the poor might have both earthly and heavenly bread, spent thirty-five years in utter devotion to the wretched, which not even church politics could disturb, and in the midst of his labors wrote spiritual books quite beyond a hypocrite or an extraordinarily imperfect nature.

The same writer falls into numerous inaccuracies, which a careful reading of the "Life" would have prevented; such as the statements that Manning's advocacy of the doctrine of Infallibility made him archbishop, that he destroyed the strength of the English episcopate, that the Jesuits looked upon him as a renegade in the matter of the Temporal Power, and that Manning the philanthropist grew out of Manning the politician deposed by Leo XIII. The facts are just the opposite. The advocacy of Infallibility was but one form of Manning's devotion to the Holy See, which, by the way, did not secure him the favor of Cardinal Barnabo; and it was only when the notion of a general council was broached, and the questions to be discussed at the council came to be considered, that Infallibility became a burning question for him. If Mr. Purcell's biography is to be followed, it was a series of fortunate circumstances that sent Manning to Westminster, among which his advocacy of Infallibility was of minor importance.

Manning strengthened rather than weakened the power of the Catholic episcopate in England. It would be dry reading to explain this fact to laymen, but two things may be mentioned: he threw in all his influence against the establishment of another archiepiscopal see in England—there are four in Ireland—and encouraged the bishops to stand together on all matters pertaining to the general welfare. As a matter of fact he had all, or nearly all, the bishops with him in his one particular struggle with the Jesuits, and his victory was theirs. The Jesuits never at any time looked on Cardinal Manning as a renegade on any point whatever, and his difficulties with them began long before the opening of the Vatican Council, and on other matters than the Temporal Power. His opposition to the Jesuits may be called temperamental. It was in evidence a few years after his entrance into the Westminster diocese, and never ceased during his whole career, although the Jesuits, like himself, were Ultramontanes of the deepest dye. He demonstrated clearly that the popular superstition concerning the Jesuits and their wonderful power of secret and terrifying vengeance has no basis; for he practically shut them out of the London diocese, denounced their tenets and methods at pleasure, hindered their progress where he could, and yet lived and prospered.

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Finally, it was not the accession of Leo XIII to the papal throne that developed Manning the philanthropist by extinguishing Manning the politician. Leo became Pope in 1878, and it was in 1865, immediately after his consecration, that Manning began his philanthropic career by flatly refusing to build a cathedral for his diocese (although part of the money required had been collected) until the twenty thousand children of the Catholic poor in London, "destitute, uncared for, untaught, running wild in the streets, without knowledge of the faith, a prey to apostasy or to immorality," should have been safely gathered within the fold. He gathered them in, built up a school and charity system for them, and never for an instant turned aside from this work for other things. He had enjoyed fifteen years of practical, personal intercourse with the London poor, and had acquired a valuable experience of life among the wretched, when public opinion in England grew sufficiently tender and intelligent to make use of his rank and his experience by giving him a place on the Mansion House Committee for the relief of the French in their disastrous war with the Prussians. This was in 1870, and from that moment until his death the Cardinal was the foremost man in England in the different movements for the improvement of social conditions. That is to say, eight years before the death of Pius IX, he had acquired his public reputation as a philanthropist, and for thirteen years before the accession of Leo XIII he had been deep in special labors for the London poor. What, then, becomes of the statement so recklessly made, that disappointment as a church politician turned him to philanthropy, that the disfavor of Leo XIII extinguished the politician and developed the social reformer? Mr. Purcell has written with criminal carelessness, but in this he has been surpassed by some of his critics.

Between biographer and reviewer the honest reader has no chance of coming to an understanding of the real Manning, the thorough-going Englishman who was for twenty years the delight and pride of the English-speaking world without regard to nationality or creed. Many of the reviews have taken Purcell seriously, as he has taken himself. They have allowed themselves to believe that the picturesque figure, which gave to this age the lively coloring of the days of Anselm, or Stephen Langton, or Thomas à Becket, which played so splendid and powerful a part in the Vatican Council, and stood so nobly before the world for the rights of the workers, was a thing of shreds and patches, a mean and contemptible soul directing a clever brain, ambitious, led by the lust of power always, facile to the point of dishonesty, persua-

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sive to the undoing of truth, morally a degenerate, spiritually a fraud, and naturally an intriguer. Archdeacon Tiffany has deduced all these charges from Mr. Purcell's indictment of the Cardinal, charges which the biographer would be the first to deny as contained in his book. At the same time it must be admitted that the character drawn by Mr. Purcell is so revolting that unprejudiced men with some acquaintance of Cardinal Manning's career turn from the "Life" and its reviewers to their own impressions of the Cardinal's character and history. Long before his death Manning had become one of the popular heroes of the civilized world. The people often blunder as to the virtues of their heroes, blunders quickly avenged by the rapid descent of the exposed fraud into obscurity. I think it will be granted that no fraud, or hypocrite, or extraordinarily imperfect nature could occupy and hold in our day for so long a period Manning's high position in church, state, and the affections of the people; could live and die in such esteem, honor, and affection, and yet be the creature described by Mr. Purcell and inferred by Archdeacon Tiffany. And therefore I appeal confidently to that *sensus communis* which granted to Manning in his lifetime the tribute of affection earned by virtuous character and severe and disinterested labors for mankind, as against the incapacity of his biographer and the carelessness, to call it by its mildest name, of certain reviewers of Purcell's "Life of Manning." To sustain this appeal let us take one swift glance at the salient points of Manning's career, apart from the account of it provided by Mr. Purcell.

Some incidents in Manning's career and certain of his qualities are only to be understood and appreciated by Catholics, a fact which accounts in part for the blunders of the reviewers. I shall describe these first, because they are not lacking in general interest, and have been thoroughly misrepresented.

1. He travelled out of the Anglican Establishment and entered the Church of Rome by his own road. It is unnecessary to discuss here how much affinity his course had to that of Newman, or how deeply it had been affected by the Oxford movement. It was the strongest feature of Manning's character and career that he made his own road in everything he undertook, and, if he walked it alone at first, it was soon taken advantage of by the multitude. The point to be made in regard to Manning's departure from Anglicanism is the sincerity, the courage, the abnegation which carried him away from crowding honors, dear friends, an attractive field of labor, and generous fame, to the miserable conditions of the Roman Catholic Church of that day in

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England. Neither the Anglican on the one hand nor the Catholic on the other can fully understand the anguish of mind which is the lot of such a character as Manning in the passage from one fold to the other, even when the material conditions remain unchanged; but when, as in his case, the palace is exchanged for the hovel, when the enthusiast leaves the court of Cæsar for the catacombs, what courage, what disinterestedness, what utter lack of ambition must not his character contain! And after entrance into the Roman communion, where the environment is so often unsympathetic, and even repulsive to the convert for many a day, only the clearest mind, the most determined will, the purest sincerity, can carry a man through the first discomforts to his proper place. The trial assuredly clarifies motives, and Catholics justly regard such men with reverence. They have tasted the first bitterness of martyrdom. Analysis of a man's motives for putting his head on the block, once he has declared them, is superfluous. The great sacrifice ends all doubt as to his sincerity and his courage.

2. No sooner had Manning found a firm footing in the Roman communion than he placed himself, led no doubt "by the lust of power," in quasi-opposition to the religious orders and in direct opposition to the main body of priests and laymen who counted Archbishop Errington as their leader. Having lost one sort of mitre in the Anglican communion, he was evidently bent on getting another sort by antagonizing the powers around him in the Westminster diocese. It is not yet a recognized principle with ambitious churchmen in the Roman communion, that the surest way of getting into the episcopate is by irritating the religious communities and baiting one's neighbors. Yet this in all honesty is what Manning did. In the case of Archbishop Errington, Manning found himself in opposition to the majority of the Westminster priests and to many of the Catholic bishops, besides putting himself in a rather hopeless condition, if Archbishop Errington, as coadjutor to Wiseman, should at any time succeed to the See of Westminster. Nevertheless he fought the battle in Rome in behalf of the new spirit which was stirring in the Church, against the advocates of a decorous peace and quiet which to Manning meant stagnation. His ability won the day; and for his reward Manning received the gratitude of Wiseman, and the hearty execrations of English Catholics. How closely his conduct in these two instances resembles that of an ambitious intriguer it may be left for others to determine.

3. The entire Catholic world to-day acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Manning for that profound devotion to the Roman See, which

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marked his career from the beginning, and which he imparted to his own age. In Wiseman's time the Papacy had but feeble support in the Catholic countries of Europe, with the single exception of Ireland. The spirit of the Revolution was abroad, and independence had become a fashion of the hour. The Reds of the continent, far more appreciative of the necessity of the papal power to Catholic unity than were the Catholic leaders themselves, petted and flattered the audacious spirits who loved to flout the Pope, while expressing the utmost respect for his spiritual character and readiness to die in defence of his liberty. Manning was not duped at any time. Authority had been the principle which led him out of the Anglican into the Roman communion, and he began from the first to expound and to defend it far beyond the desires of those who were nearest to the papal throne. Naturally he dwelt on the themes of Infallibility and the Temporal Power, and with tongue and pen brought these important questions into the world's forum, forced discussion on all sides, roused the consciences and the spirit of Catholics, and struck the mask from the face of the Revolution. This is the way in which Catholics at present look upon Manning's services of that period, but the Catholics of that day were more than irritated at his exposition and its audacity. He made enemies by the score, and it may be surmised that, if his speeches and sermons on these matters won for him the mitre, they nearly cost him the dignity of Cardinal. His ringing words cheered the hearts of the Catholic communities of the English tongue in many a dark hour after the Italian occupation of Rome. Catholics everywhere had to face the most insulting remarks and predictions on the disaster of September 20, and its far-off consequences. The Reds flouted them with flamboyant joy, as before they had cajoled and caressed them. Protestant pulpits rang with felicitations on the near fall of the Church of Rome, and with delirious misinterpretations of the dogma of Infallibility. But Catholics, Protestants, and Reds alike listened with respect and emotion to the single voice of the English Cardinal warning the victors or encouraging the vanquished, by pointing to that near future in which so many hopes and disasters lie hidden. He lived to see his course justified. Before his death the Catholic world had fallen into line behind him, convinced by its enemies of the preciousness of Rome; European cabinets had learned the meaning of the Revolution and the meaning of Infallibility at the same moment; and even Mr. Gladstone was convinced that the Pope must have territorial independence if only for convenience' sake.

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4. What he accomplished for the Catholic body in England may be learned by a comparison of conditions in 1865 and in 1890. Cardinal Wiseman did a great work by way of preparation in his day, just as Archbishop Hughes did in the American metropolis; but Manning was Wiseman and Hughes in one, both diplomatic and aggressive, tribune and cabinet minister. The timid and somewhat genteel group of bishops and laymen who were the leaders of the Catholic English body in 1865 could not bear "this forward priest." Their voices had not been heard any distance since the days of Pole, and the roaring of this lion, fresh from the refined circles of the Establishment, awed and mortified them. No one can blame them for their dread of publicity, after the physical and mental disembowelling inflicted on them by their precious government for three centuries. Manning found them in corners, afraid to raise voice or hand for the salvation of that heavy Irish contingent driven from Irish farms to English factories,—living, marrying, dying among themselves, shut out from healthful careers in business and politics; and almost with his single arm he lifted them, as this day bears witness, into such a position as the Catholic body of America holds, a normal and natural portion of the great English community, with no door and no road closed to them. He repeated this service for the timid diocesan clergy, whom hard circumstances had left in a nerveless condition. Between them and the priests of the cloister existed, and always has existed, a certain irritation born of lofty claims of superiority on the part of the religious orders. The Jesuits in particular not only claimed preeminence, but were able in a measure to vindicate their assumptions by a larger proportion of educated men, able preachers, clever professors, and by the influence they exercised over the influential, the nobles, the educated, and even the common people. This state of things was particularly odious to Manning, and he was early at work in behalf of his diocesan clergy, rating them for their supine submission, insisting on their taking up every form of spiritual labor, appealing to Rome in their behalf, and vigorously denouncing the assumptions of the religious orders. For the Jesuits he entertained a particular dislike, and never permitted them to develop in his diocese, though he had much in common with the famous Society. Undoubtedly he was over-severe toward them and other orders, and went beyond the needs of the occasion in his opposition; nevertheless his spirit aroused the diocesan clergy to a proper sense of self-respect, their activities were multiplied, and the people were made to see the strength of Manning's contention that between

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the two classes of priests there was only a difference of condition, not of power. The Cardinal went farther than this in his writings, and maintained the superiority of the "law of liberty" over the law of the vows, a contention which is still holding the interest of the schools. It brought him into conflict with the religious orders and their friends, a rather perilous conflict for "an extraordinarily imperfect nature,"—"led by the lust of power all his days,"—who still had the winning of the red hat before him, and yet displayed not a trace of that prudence so necessary to the ambitious priest.

All these things endeared Manning to priesthood and people in every part of the English-speaking world. They were the outcome of a spirit which displayed itself with leisure and thoroughness in the books that came from his fervent pen. These productions have been widely read, and will long be favorites among Christian readers. They prove that the Manning of the forum, of the pulpit, of the sanctuary, are one and the same; that the forum cannot bear witness to an intriguer in the disguise of a prelate, or the pulpit to a soul which showed "numerous signs of spiritual degeneration," or the sanctuary to a priest "more unscrupulous in his methods, more malignant in his animosities, more daring in his ambition" than in his Anglican days. No such spirit could have produced that lofty ideal of the sacerdotal life, "The Eternal Priesthood," so nobly conceived and so touchingly written. Let us now pass from those matters of his career, which are of deep interest to Catholics, to those which interested the whole world in the personality of Manning, and made him, in spite of circumstances, the best-known and most popular churchman of this century.

1. There was no shining reason why he should have become a popular character. Personally he was rather chilling, and often hard, and he had fought friends and foes in regular order impartially for many years. The Catholics of the United States had a popular prelate, John Hughes of New York, who left the stage in 1865, just as Manning, archbishop, was making his entrance; and they were among the first to perceive in this English bishop a man of the Hughes temper, and to welcome his audacities. His challenge of every public falsehood against his Church, his steady instruction of the public in the true meaning of Catholic doctrines, his deep interest and severe labors in behalf of the poor Irish of London, his devotion to the Holy See, won the attention and the applause of American Catholics, and informed them of the rise of a great leader for the English-speaking peoples long before Englishmen had perceived him. Manning's interest in the con-

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dition of working men made his name famous at home and in the New World, as his contest in behalf of Infallibility gave him a reputation on the continent. The agents of the Revolution had watched and feared him as a member of the Vatican Council, but their fears rose higher with his fame and influence among the working people. He began his work in behalf of the laborers and the poor the very year of his consecration to the See of Westminster. His work in the dock strike was only its latest phase. The first took shape in his refusal to build a cathedral, which was to have been a memorial to Cardinal Wiseman, until the 20,000 Catholic children running wild in London had been brought under Christian discipline. He spent years and thousands of pounds in rescuing these unfortunates. The second phase was his work among the Irish immigrants, who had settled in England and were in a sorry condition at the very doors of their ancient enemies. One can imagine the violence an Englishman had to do to his race feelings to admit that these evicted aliens were entitled to his best services, not alone on the ground of charity, but on that of justice, as the main support and largest portion of the Catholic Church in England. It took many of the bishops a long time to accept this view of the situation, but Manning reached it with almost a single stride. And with that thoroughness and honesty characteristic of him, he not only took up the work of organization for them, but blessed their milder political aspirations, and gave honest encouragement to their parliamentary party, in spite of the black looks and hearty condemnation which he won from his true-English brethren. It was chiefly for them he established his wonderful and successful League of the Cross, and through its agency carried on a vigorous war against intemperance: for them also he built up his system of Christian education; and through them he came into association with the general London poor, which finally led to his regular connection with all the great movements for improving social conditions. The world is very well acquainted with Manning the philanthrophist, and there is no need to dwell on this part of his career. But for the benefit of Mr. Purcell, who seems to have overlooked the matter altogether, and for the benefit of Archdeacon Tiffany, two striking facts must be named. He himself built the road to eminence, to the honors of the purple, by taking up the cause of the Holy See when it was most unpopular in Europe, when its advocacy brought him only odium, and when even the friends of the Papacy thought his methods uncalled-for and his aims inopportune. The event justified his foresight and his enthusiasm. He himself

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built the road to popular favor by his lifelong interest in the people, and in time had the honor of seeing among its travellers the Pope of social reform, Leo XIII. First and foremost he made the social feature of Pope Leo's social programme possible and natural. It was not necessary for his daring nature, that it might win the highest honors of the world, to play the sycophant and dance attendance on the humors of a king or a people. He anticipated all his honors long before they arrived, and the mean insinuations of biographer and reviewer in this regard simply light up the more thoroughly their own carelessness. In the natural order of events, as a supporter of papal policy under Pius IX he should have accompanied its exponents into the oblivion provided by Leo XIII; but Manning was not a courtier, a dependent on personal favor, he was a statesman; and Leo XIII found him as necessary as did Pius IX. All this is contained in the "Life," though quite unknown to the biographer and certain of his reviewers.

2. The English-speaking world felt justly proud, and the "Life" will increase that feeling, over Manning's distinguished part in the Vatican Council. Apart from creeds, it was a real pleasure to see the temper, the ability, the political genius displayed by a representative of the English-speaking nations on so conspicuous a stage, face to face with the ablest churchmen and cleverest diplomatists of the world. And his success was simply tremendous, almost incredible. For a decade he had made the question of Infallibility his own, and had talked England, both Catholic and Anglican, into a fever over it; yet the question was actually ruled out of discussion at the Council, was not allowed a place in the scheme of action. Here is Manning's own account of the situation: "After a long discussion there were at last only two bishops, I and another, who persisted in presenting petitions for the Definition, or in other ways urging the question, of Infallibility. We were adjured to obey the will of the Council; we were rebuked for wilful and obstinate obstruction." Still, the dogged English prelate persevered, and his obstinacy won the day. The question was admitted,—which really meant victory unless European Governments interfered. The interference was planned by Dr. Döllinger, who asked the King of Bavaria, his friend, to form a coalition of the Powers whose Catholic subjects might suffer from the threatened Definition of Infallibility. Prince Hohenlohe, present Chancellor of the German Empire, then Premier of Bavaria, made in behalf of the king a formal proposal to the English Government, that it should invite the Powers to intervene at the Vatican for the protection of their Catholic subjects. Mr.

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Gladstone was in favor of intervention. He had been primed by Lord Acton, Roman intimate of Archbishop Darboy of Paris and other Inopportunists of the Vatican Council, and was eager for effective interference. However, Manning was ahead of him. He had supplied Lord Clarendon, the foreign minister, with the proper information regarding the temper of the bishops at the council, through Lord Odo Russell, English minister at the Vatican; and one by one Gladstone's arguments were discounted at the sitting of the cabinet. The English Government replied unfavorably to Prince Hohenlohe, and Infallibility was carried. Thus Manning played his great part in that memorable council, and won distinction sufficient to have placed the tiara on his head, had he been Italian or England been Catholic. As a matter of fact Cardinal Bilio suggested his name as successor to Pius IX.

3. It is no disparagement to Leo XIII to say that had Manning become Pope his reign would have been only a degree less brilliant than Leo's own. At the death of Pius IX he was the idol of the English-speaking Catholic world and its only real representative in Rome. Moreover, Manning had outgrown his diocese and his nation, and even the Sacred College, even Leo XIII in the first days of his pontificate, could not compare with Manning in world-wide fame. He had become the world's Cardinal. It crowded his doors, bringing every cause and every theory that man's restless brain can invent, for approval and blessing. His delight was to be with the children of men, and their delight was to be with him; and prudence of the clerical sort stood mourning in the street while the motley procession went in and out of the Cardinal's doors, undisturbed, unchecked, until that day when it followed him weeping to his grave. Let us stop here. This is the Manning the world knew: the gracious, noble, exalted figure, whose native dignity the world's honors could never obscure, and to whom a world turned with confidence and love.

His greatest mistake was his treatment of Newman. For the misunderstandings of the two Cardinals he is most to blame, and the severest things yet to be said of him will be contained in a candid and capable life of Newman. Manning was the leader in the cabinet and the field, and it was his business to have found a place for that beautiful soul lost in the lonely desert of Brompton: instead of shutting him off from every avenue of usefulness and distinction whose gates he was able to close. He has been punished already for his hostility or indifference, or whatever it may be called. His influence fades, while Newman's increases. At the same time it is impossible to draw con-

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clusions on this matter from Mr. Purcell's book. It lights up only one fact, that differences existed between Newman and Manning, which we already knew: but it does not explain the sources of these differences, nor their proper action.

Mr. Purcell has had no discretion either for his hero or himself. His book, according to the testimony of its readers, leaves a taste of meanness in the mouth, and in the soul a hopelessness for human nature which could soar so high in Manning's case only to descend with Simon Magus into the abyss. Whatever Mr. Purcell's intentions may have been, this is the terrifying result of his labors. If his creation be the true Manning, then in our age hypocrisy and meanness have learned new arts and attained new heights of honor. He must bear the responsibility of this impression. His presentation of his material alone would create it; but, lest it might fail, he assumed the office of guide through the mass, and insinuated low motives where candid minds would have found pure honesty. The chief ecclesiastical personages of the drama, Pius IX, Manning, Searle, Barnabo, Talbot, Grant, and Ullathorne, seem either fools or knaves; none of them commands any sympathy, and all appear busy, like phantom Penelopes, in the glorious work of unravelling by night what they had woven by day. Hence, says Cardinal Vaughan, "the publication of this 'Life' is almost a crime." Fortunately, though it will do immense harm, it carries with it convincing evidence of the author's incapacity and its own incompleteness. It has not explained Manning's relations with Newman, with Pope Leo XIII, with the Jesuits. The most important paper with regard to the last named was deliberately suppressed. It treats the splendid episode of the Vatican Council, and all its serious consequences hinted at in Cardinal Bilio's suggestion that Manning be a candidate for the Papacy, with childish indifference to their importance. The two immense volumes merely hint at these things, without conveying any information. The note of incapacity is everywhere. The book, however, helps to confirm the old conclusion, at which so many observers had long ago arrived: that Manning was the greatest churchman of his day, and the most splendid figure which English Christianity has given the world in five centuries. And indirectly it helps to a new one: that he was very much greater than he or his contemporaries suspected; otherwise he would not have chosen his biographer, and Mr. Purcell would not have dared to compose what the majority of Catholic Americans will call "his voluminous libel."

JOHN TALBOT SMITH.

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THE THREATENED ANNIHILATION OF THE JUDGE-AND-JURY SYSTEM.

THE judge and jury are on trial at the bar of public opinion. The continual tendency to denounce the ideas and methods bequeathed to us by our ancestors has found its latest expression in various proposed modifications of the existing system of trial of cases. There is a constantly increasing pressure upon Congress and our State legislatures to provide by statutory enactments for suppositional improvements. Novelists and the press, from Dickens down to the reporter in yesterday's daily, insist that the jury system is faulty in theory and practice, and that the whole structure should be swept away and rebuilt. The following recent incidents will serve to illustrate the present situation.

During the last session of Congress bills were referred to the Judiciary Committee which provide: that in any trial by jury in the courts of the United States the charge of the judge shall first be reduced to writing, shall conform to the State practice in the respective States, and shall be confined to the law applicable to the case; that federal courts shall not hereafter punish for contempt of court except by a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding forty-eight hours; and that the trial of indirect contempt may be by jury. Various provisions designed to hamper the judge in the discharge of his duties have recently been pressed upon the attention of State legislatures. The appellate court in California recently decided that the judge who presided over the Durant trial had no authority to punish the manager of a theatre for defying the order of court and producing during the trial a play entitled "The Crime of a Century," purporting to represent the facts of Durant's alleged crime. The appellate court in this case expounds and applies the law of newspaper publications to this theatrical production, apparently ignoring its effect in exciting popular prejudice, and thus denying to the accused the constitutional right of trial by an impartial tribunal.

The newspapers of the city of New York have lately published utterances emanating from a prominent reformer charging certain members of the judiciary with disgraceful rulings from the bench inspired

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by sympathy with crime, and reflecting on the integrity of a judge because he failed "to crowd a jury to a verdict." It may be noted in passing that one of the State courts of last resort has just decided that a judge may summarily punish such offenders for contempt of court. Recent newspaper editorials on the subject are entitled "Criticism of Judges," "An Attempt to Blackmail a Judge"; others present the issues under suggestive legal captions such as "Parkhurst *vs.* Cowing." Still more recently, a native-born American summoned for jury duty refused to serve, alleging as a reason: "I don't believe in the American jury system as administered in the courts of the city of New York."

If the bills above referred to had become laws they would have marked a new departure in federal legislation. Ever since the original grant of judicial power and reservation of trial by jury, the relations and respective functions and duties of judge and jury have been defined, regulated, and developed by the federal courts themselves. Even the act of 1872, which adopts the procedure in the State courts, does not trench upon the common-law powers of the judge in the discharge of his personal duties. Generally speaking, the causes which are tried by a jury are those where simply a payment of money is required in discharge of a debt, or as redress for a wrong done or injuries suffered through negligence, or where it is sought to obtain possession of real or personal property. Cases tried by a judge alone are usually those involving the equity powers, so-called, of the court, and in such cases something other than the payment of money or possession of property is usually required. These include foreclosures of mortgages, suits for specific performance of agreements such as for the conveyance of property, and especially applications for injunctions against the doing of some wrongful act.

I do not propose to discuss the recent exercise of the powers of the court as illustrated in the railway-strike cases, but it is interesting to note that the proposed legislation in regard to contempt would, in most instances, virtually abolish the power of the federal courts to enforce injunctions. Briefly stated, the relations of judge and jury in the federal courts, under the common-law system as administered, are as follows:

The judge, during the trial, determines what evidence is proper to go to the jury, and in his charge states what are the essential elements of the case before them and what are the material issues of fact to be determined, and notes the evidence which bears upon them. When the evidence is manifestly insufficient to prove a fact, or when the

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weight of evidence is clearly on the one side or the other, he may say so. Questions of fact, upon which honest men might come to different conclusions, must be left to the jury to decide, although even here the judge may express an opinion if he thinks it advisable so to do. If the plaintiff has manifestly failed to prove his case, or if he has proved his case and the defendant has wholly failed to make out a sufficient defence, the judge may instruct the jury to bring in a verdict accordingly. If, in his opinion, a verdict is clearly contrary to the evidence he must set it aside and grant a new trial. Thus the judge and the jury have practically a veto power upon the acts of each other.

There are two reforms specially urged in regard to such trials as are now had by judge and jury; one, to abolish the jury and have all cases tried to a judge; the other, to confine the powers of a judge to preserving order in court, passing on the admissibility of evidence, and charging the jury as to the law.

Those who would abolish the jury insist that the system is cumbrous and costly; that jurors are blinded by prejudice or passion; that they are sometimes misled by perjured testimony, perverted eloquence, and the tricks of the legal trade; that they are occasionally obstinate or corrupt; that they are not always competent to fully understand and fairly dispose of the true issues raised and facts presented. Perhaps the strongest arguments against trial by jury are founded upon the ignorance, partiality, or prejudice of jurors. An English writer has said, "Our jurymen quit shops for courts of justice, march straight from weighing of candles to weighing of testimony, from measuring out of tape to measuring of fate, from dealing in bacon and cheese to dealing with lives, liberty, and property of men." Blackstone, however, has entitled the jury system "the palladium of English liberty, the glory of English law, the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy or wish for." The federal Constitution and those of all the States have maintained inviolate the right of trial by jury. Certainly this system has all the presumptions in its favor raised by authority, precedent, and immemorial usage. The main questions to be discussed are whether the present distribution of power in trials by judge and jury should be materially changed, and if so whether such change should be effected by the courts or by legislation.

To the advocates of trial by a judge as a panacea for the evils cited by the opponents of the jury, it may be replied that the objections urged are inherent in any system dependent upon the wisdom, judgment, or integrity of our fellow men. A juror is the most independent

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individual imaginable. His period of service is not determined by politics or fear or favor, his deliberations are secret, his conclusions of fact are unaffected by precedent or authority, his reasons and opinions are locked within his own breast, and for his acts he is answerable only to his conscience and his oath. As to partiality or prejudice, even of Lord Mansfield it was said that he was eminently sound and just in his decisions "when his political convictions were not involved." The explanation offered by Chief Justice Marshall's biographer of the claim that he interpreted law according to his notions of political expediency and made federalist law in nine cases out of ten is that "It is one thing to be impartial, and another to be colorless in mind." Even Lord Ellenborough allowed his fondness for turbot and lobster sauce to lead him to hold that lobster catchers were exempt as *deep-sea* fishermen from impressment in the admiralty.

A further danger exists in judge-made law. The constant tendency of judges to usurp the functions of the legislature and to seek to counteract bad laws by making bad law, is matter of history and experience. By the doctrine of *stare decisis* the evil is continued; by the conflict between legal interpretation and judicial legislation the stability of law is undermined, and the determination of its legitimate limitations indefinitely postponed. That the jury are at least equally liable to error in these regards may, for the sake of the argument, be assumed. But the verdict of the jury does not make a law of general application for all time; it merely finds the facts in the particular case; succeeding bodies of jurors act independently of their predecessors without prejudice to the rights of the community. And while it may be admitted that it is the duty of courts to enforce an odious law and thus secure its repeal, yet, in view of the often repeated failure of judges to follow this course, there is something to be said in favor of the power of juries so to find the facts as to mitigate the rigors of an unjust law and prevent an interpretation not intended by the legislature. Their refusal to enforce the oppressive provisions of the copyright law, the rigorous imposition of which would have bankrupted the newspapers and magazines of this country, and the recent amendments of that law, are forcibly suggestive in this connection.

There is heredity in systems as well as in families. To understand the spirit of the jury system and its proper limitations we must examine its origin and the theory on which it was founded, just as in determining the scope of a law we look to its underlying principles.

The jury in ancient times was a company of men gathered from the

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vicinage, who were supposed to know the facts in dispute. There was neither judge nor lawyer to assist in the trial. The parties stated their claims and brought witnesses to vouch for their character, standing, and trustworthiness. At a later period, witnesses to the facts were allowed, but these witnesses constituted the whole or a part of the jury which was to decide the matters at issue, and they learned the facts from each other. When, later, the jury heard the witnesses, trials were still irregular and disorderly. This led to the introduction of the judge who passed upon the law and directed the order of the trial. Care in the selection of juries has always been considered a necessary element in the system, but the methods have often been faulty. The bulwark of our liberties is not found in the substitution, for the twelve witnesses sworn to do justice, of a body of men whose sole qualifications are that they are ignorant of the facts and devoid of intelligence. The introduction of carefully prepared testimony, skilfully presented under the artificial rules of evidence and elaborately argued by eloquent counsel, would be liable to be subversive of justice if the court were so trammeled by precedent, practice, or legislation as to be but a mere mouthpiece to deliver the requests to charge formulated by the attorneys.

If the present system is to remain, it is essential, not only that the powers of the jury should be protected, but also that the common-law powers and duties of the judge should be inviolably preserved. Attempts to interfere with the judge in the exercise of his proper functions in advising the jury and aiding them to render a verdict according to the law and the evidence, while ostensibly designed to increase the powers of the jury, really tend to the obliteration of the system. If by reason of perjured testimony, incompetent or insufficient evidence, or perverted eloquence, the passions or prejudices of the jury may be used to secure a verdict which is a tribute to the skill of the advocate rather than to the justice of his cause, suitors are, in effect, relegated to the doubtful issue of trial by battle, to relieve the hardships of which the royal boon of jury trial was conferred. It is absolutely necessary that the court which enforces the rules of evidence should be further permitted to assist the jury in giving to the evidence its proper weight, so that they may so far as possible be placed in the position of witnesses of the material facts, rather than judges with unguided discretion, to determine not only the truth of conflicting statements, but the importance of the essential matters proved. Otherwise the position of the judge is such as to justify Horne Tooke's statement to the jury, when Chief Justice Kenyon offended him, that the only three efficient

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parties to the trial were the jury, Mr. Fox, and himself. "As for the judge and the crier," said he, "they are here to preserve order; we pay them handsomely for their attendance, and in their proper sphere they are of some use, but they are hired as assistants only; they are not and never were intended to be controllers of our conduct."

The practice in those courts where the judge may assist in the examination of witnesses, direct verdicts, frame special questions, comment upon the evidence, and in certain cases and under special limitations express his opinion upon the disputed facts,—provided that the statement of such opinion is advisory only, and not put in the form of a direction as a matter of law,—seems to furnish the best possible solution of the problem of the preservation of the system and the attainment of justice. A judge should not hesitate to tell the jury which way he thinks the verdict ought to go on the evidence if they would otherwise be misled. In Mr. Justice Gray's opinion,

> "Trial by jury in courts of the United States is a trial presided over by a judge with authority not only to rule upon objections to evidence and to instruct the jury upon the law, but also, when in his judgment the due administration of justice requires it, to aid the jury by explaining and commenting upon and even giving them his opinion upon questions of fact, provided only he submits those questions to their determination."

If, now, the various objections to existing jury systems be admitted, is it wise to legislate in favor of either party? Is it safe to impose any rigid and statutory bounds either upon the judge or jury? I think not. Let me briefly state my reasons.

The objections to trial by jury are not inherent in the system, but are developed by the environment of the jury or the conditions of litigations. And while the rural jury, as the embodiment of the theory of trial by one's peers from the vicinage, may not be the ideal tribunal to determine testamentary capacity or patentability from expert testimony, or to grapple with large commercial transactions, this does not justify the reconstruction of a system which is capable of securing such triers as the ordinary jury in many of the State and federal courts. The conflicting notions of the proper functions of judge and jury, arising from the variety of issues presented, the constitution of the panel, the competency or insufficiency of the evidence, the inequality of opposing counsel, and the effect of passion or prejudice, already considered, demonstrate that judge and jury are tenants in common of a considerable portion of the field of evidence, and that no fixed metes or bounds can be defined which will separate their

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respective domains; that each may use and occupy or at least receive light and air from this common field without trespassing upon the rights of the other. These varying conditions cannot be provided for by legislative limitations, but only by the exercise of a sound judicial discretion. Such discretion may not be arbitrarily exercised, but must be governed by the well-settled rules of law. The theory that the judge should state the law, the jury find the facts, is one easily formulated, but insufficient for the test of actual practice. Thus the Supreme Court of the United States has refused to apply the rule that the construction of a written instrument is for the court, where the question arose between the specifications and claims of conflicting patents. Reasonableness of time, while ordinarily a question for the court, is sometimes a fact to be found by the jury. The difficulties in the way of defining the respective provinces of judge and jury are emphasized by mixed questions of law and fact and by the complicated and conflicting tests of reasonableness of conduct in negligence cases. The jury are only justified in finding matters of fact when evidence legally sufficient is submitted to their consideration. Therefore, in the great majority of cases it is helpful to the jury if the court comment upon certain lines of testimony, suggest the comparative weight of certain classes of proof, and state the bearing of significant or uncontroverted evidence, in order that "the balance of their judgment may be kept in equipoise and their vision clarified." As Lord Bacon, in his advice to Mr. Justice Hilton, says: "You should be a light to open their eyes, but not a guide to lead them by the noses."

An illustration of an improper expression of opinion is furnished by the charge of a judge in Alabama, when, in an action of trespass, he told the jury that they might give exemplary damages if the trespass was accompanied by circumstances of aggravation,—"Such damages as would teach the old gentleman not to violate the Sabbath, nor injure his health by riding in the night, nor interfere with the rights of others." The verdict was set aside, the Chief Justice saying that the above remarks were "calculated to impress the jury with the belief that the judge thought the facts such as would require them to give exemplary damages."

Within the last six months, in one of the federal circuit courts, in an action against an insurance company by the widow and child of the insured, the court opened his charge by stating that when women and children were connected with a case, he made it a rule to say as little as possible to the jury because his sympathies frequently got the better

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of his judgment. Later, he said that he tried to close his eyes to the interests of the woman and child, but added: "I cannot always do it; I do not suppose you can. It is not to be expected. If a man can do that he is no better than a brute. He is as bad as the heathen is supposed to be and worse than the horse thief is thought to be. If he could close his eyes to that fact, lose all sense of decency and self-respect, he would not be fit for a juror." The Court of Appeals in reversing the judgment held that the natural and inevitable effect of such a charge was to excite the sympathies and warp the judgment of the jury, and was an open invitation to them to render a verdict upon a consideration of the question whether or not the insurance companies could afford to lose the amounts of the policies better than the woman and child could afford to do without them. The judge should, of course, do everything within the scope of his powers to prevent the jury from being misled by passion, prejudice, sympathy, or mistake as to the real points in issue, and where a verdict results from what Judge Lacombe in the Second Circuit has called "an acute attack of that species of mental hysteria to which jurymen in sexual cases are so peculiarly liable," it is clearly the duty of the court to set it aside.

It is impracticable to formulate in advance any rule of general application as to the extent to which judges should comment upon evidence. Much must be left to judicial discretion. When it is exceeded the remedy may be applied by the appellate court. But a hard and fast rule, such as is suggested in the proposed act of Congress, forbidding an expression of opinion in any case, could hardly fail to sometimes be absolutely subversive of justice. The varied and constantly changing conditions of causes, counsel, court, and jury require such elasticity of practice, such reciprocal aids and checks, and such adaptability of procedure as cannot be provided for by the rigid bounds of statutory enactments. If the jury system is to continue to find favor it must keep pace with the development of society and be adapted to the exigencies of particular cases. It must be free from the trammels of legislation.

In conclusion let me raise a question, not of expediency, but of right. Is there not involved in the constitutional right of trial by jury the right to such trial substantially as it existed at common law? And does not such guaranty extend equally to the powers of the judge? If this be so it would not be competent for the legislative authority to so abridge his powers as to deny him the common-law right to advise the jury as to the evidence and to comment or express his opinion on the

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facts. This question, so far as I can learn, has never been judicially considered, although it has been touched upon by such eminent jurists as Mr. Justice Brown and Judge Cooley, and I have not space to discuss it here. I submit, however, with all seriousness in the light of recent events that it is one which in the not distant future is likely to be raised, and that upon its determination may depend the survival of the judge-and-jury system.

There should be no antagonism between judge and jury. They are not adverse parties to a cause at issue, but joint parties in a common cause, harmonious co-workers in furtherance of the ends of justice. It will be found that any possible jealousy or antagonism which may formerly have existed between judge and jury has very much decreased, and as a consequence failures to agree are much less frequent now than formerly. This result is in great measure due to the increased flexibility of the system as now practically administered. With such a system developed by such modifications as the courts may from time to time adopt, I am a firm believer in the omniscience of a petit jury to discern, and its omnipotence to secure, the essentials of substantial justice.

The evils of existing systems, in so far as reform is possible, may be remedied by the courts themselves. And inasmuch as it is within the power of the judicial department to find and apply the necessary relief, recourse should not be had to the executive or legislative departments of our Government. Every attempted reform from without involves interference with harmonious development from within. Rigid legislation cannot provide for the exigencies of particular cases. Furthermore, there are certain manifest objections to interference with the administration of a system of law by legislatures often consisting chiefly of laymen. One of these objections arises from the inconsistency and instability of such legislation. The individual with a grievance frames his bill to meet his case, regardless of the general welfare. As a result the rights of parties are uncertain, decisions conflict, and an artificial jealousy is created between judge and jury as to the scope of their respective rights and duties. The result of legislation affecting the relations of judge and jury may be, not growth and reformation of the system, but annihilation. Whatever deprives the judiciary of dignity, authority, or individuality, tends not merely to obliterate the judge as a factor,—it undermines the foundations of justice as administered by men. Judges ought not to be liable to have their personal character and integrity attacked by sensational agitators because they have refused to violate the settled rules of law.

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As illustrating the power of the court to modify its procedure, it might follow the practice adopted in some States of instructing the jury before the commencement of the arguments. Personally, I have found it useful to invite counsel to exchange requests to charge before argument and, if they desire, to permit them to be heard thereon, not in the presence of the jury.

The advisory power of the court should be especially exercised in expressing its opinion in cases on the border line between sufficient evidence and the scintilla of evidence which justifies a direction of a verdict, or where the great weight of competent and satisfactory evidence is opposed to doubtful or indefinite evidence. That the court may advise the jury that they ought to try to reach an agreement, but must not attempt to coerce them, is so well understood as to require no comment.

Two rules adopted in the federal courts seem to be admirably adapted to promote the administration of justice. The first of these requires that all exceptions to the charge must be specifically noted before the jury retire, and the other, that when portions of a charge are excepted to, the whole charge must be printed.

Under the present common-law system the judge and the jury harmoniously act and react upon each other; the artifices of the advocate are exposed by the judge; the passions and prejudices of the jury are calmed by his dignity or guided by his advice; his partiality is tempered by the jury; his common law adapted and applied by their common sense; if both fail, the record is subject to review in the appellate court. Amid the complaints of legislative corruption, corporate abuses, the greed of monopolies, the fallacy of political platforms, and the hollowness of alleged reforms, may we not apply to such a jury system the language of a learned commentator on the laws of England, and say:—

"It is therefore, upon the whole, a duty which every man owes his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this undoubted birthright, this best inheritance of every Englishman, to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired or deviated from its first institution, to amend it wherever it is defective; and above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the introduction of new and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time imperceptibly undermine this preservative of English liberty."?

W. K. Townsend.

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EARLY AND RECENT CURRENCY LEGISLATION.

In every coinage act of the United States, from the first, passed April 2, 1792, to the act of February 12, 1873, restoring, and not, as is generally supposed, establishing for the first time, the gold standard, the currency principles laid down by Robert Morris, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson were almost religiously respected, and incorporated, as they are, and necessarily must be, in every sound monetary system, whether it be monometallic or bimetallic. Any one who has carefully read Alexander Hamilton's "Report on the Establishment of a Mint," written in 1791, must have noticed that, although he recommended the double standard, he had a preference for monometallism and for the gold standard, and that he favored the double standard only because the adoption of gold monometallism would have been to "annul the use of one of the metals as money and to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium"—which, during the closing decade of the last century, this country could ill afford to do. Even this preference of Hamilton for gold and the single standard found expression in our coinage legislation so soon as the grounds he had urged against the employment of only one of the precious metals in the coinage—namely, its insufficiency to furnish a currency abundant enough to meet the wants of trade—were removed by the copious flow of gold from the mines of California. The supply began to come in 1849, and the act of February 21, 1853, gave the United States the gold standard.

The people of the United States, at that time, did not stop to inquire very anxiously which of the monetary metals was likely to be the more stable in the future. Silver had been leaving the circulation, by export and otherwise, for more than fifteen years, while gold had been flowing into it, first in consequence of the mint ratio adopted by the acts of June 28, 1834, and January 18, 1837, and then by the discovery of the rich placers on the Pacific; so that, in 1853, there was sufficient of the latter metal alone to meet the country's entire demand for a metallic currency. The people had suffered very severely from the effects of the double standard ever since 1792, and, therefore,

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rid themselves of it, with great determination, at the first favorable opportunity. The choice of gold in 1853 as the standard was scarcely a voluntary one. It was *forced* on the country *by the operation of laws both natural and economic.* But the country gladly submitted to the result, and it made no mistake in accepting the decree of nature that gold should be the metal of which its standard coins were thenceforth to be manufactured, because, after 1853, its value continued reasonably uniform as compared with that of silver. Since the unprecedented production of the latter, beginning about 1876, gold has been infinitely more stable, as Hamilton had surmised it probably would be.

Every coinage act of the United States since 1792 has respected the second currency principle impliedly laid down by Hamilton in his Report, namely, that the double standard was to be preferred to the single standard so long as there was not enough of gold or silver exclusively to supply the country with all the metallic currency that it needed. This was the case, in Hamilton's judgment, in 1791 and 1792. It was likewise the case in every other country at that time, or, at least, was supposed to be, if we may judge from the fact that up to 1791 and for a quarter of a century thereafter no country had provided that its standard coins should be made from one only of the precious metals. It continued to be the case, in the United States, until about 1853, when by operation of the ratio selected in 1834 and 1837 and of the limitation of the legal-tender power of fractional silver by the act of February 21, 1853, the silver dollar, although not expressly demonetized, was excluded from our circulation.

The third Hamiltonian principle of coinage—applicable where the standard is double, and where the intention is that it should so continue, namely, "that there can hardly be a better rule for any country for the legal than the market ratio" and that, therefore, as Robert Morris expressed it, the coin when melted should sell as bullion for just as much as its weight in coin—that is, that it should owe nothing of its value to the stamp of the mint and everything of its value to the weight of the pure metal it contained and which the imprint of the Government serves only to guarantee, was conscientiously followed in the acts of April 2, 1792, June 28, 1834, and January 18, 1837, or at least it was the intention of the framers of those acts faithfully to follow it. The acts of 1834 and 1837 were passed to amend that of 1792 so as to make the gold and silver coins of the United States conform to this principle. They failed to secure that end,

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simply because it is not in the power of man to hold, by coinage or otherwise, the value of gold and silver in a fixed ratio to one another commercially. This is the rock against which every bimetallic system has, at some time or other, struck and been shattered.

Having made two unsuccessful attempts—the first in 1792 and the second in 1834 and 1837—to adjust the mint to the ever-shifting commercial ratio, and to keep gold and silver in simultaneous circulation, Congress in 1853 abandoned the task as impossible, and with it, as has been already noted, the double standard, the maintenance of which depends on the accomplishment of that unachievable feat. There was no time between 1792 and 1834 when gold was not undervalued in our mint ratio, and when our gold coins were not, therefore, exported, hoarded, or melted down. Nor was there any time between 1834 and 1853, when silver was not undervalued in our mint ratio, and, therefore, exported, hoarded, or melted down.

The intention of our legislators, in the acts of 1792, 1834, and 1837, to make the coinage ratio of the two metals agree with the market ratio, and the value of the pure metal in our gold and silver coins equivalent to their commercial value in the form of bullion, was praiseworthy; but, while they might make the two agree to-day, to keep them in accord to-morrow, by the same law, was beyond their power. The act of February 12, 1873, which, in express terms, provided for the single gold standard, respected all these principles, as had that of 1853 which first introduced it.

Thus every cardinal currency principle to be found in Hamilton's "Report on the Establishment of a Mint," as well as those of Jefferson and Robert Morris, was reverently carried out for more than eighty years in all the coinage acts of the United States. They are—together with the principle introduced into our monetary legislation by the act of February 21, 1853, that fractional silver coins should be overvalued in coinage, and of limited legal tender—the same principles that have during the present century guided the architects of every sound monetary system, whether monometallic or bimetallic, in America or Europe; and just in proportion as they have been strictly followed in the construction of monetary systems, are those systems sound. They are the principles on which the monetary system of England is based; on which the monetary system of France was founded; on which Germany established its new monetary system in 1871–73 (save in so far as it retained the silver thalers in circulation); on which the Scandinavian nations built theirs in 1873, Austria-Hungary hers in 1892, and, last of

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all, Chili hers in 1895. And just in proportion as they have not been the guiding light of the makers of monetary systems is their work weak and destined to decay. They find their fullest and truest expression, as our own experience has shown, in gold monometallism; and it is significant that the only monetary system in the world that, during the last eighty years, has withstood every storm, the effects alike of the gold discoveries of 1849–50, and the floods of silver that have poured from the West of the Rocky Mountains since 1873, is that of England. That the United States will yet return to the monetary legislation of 1873 there can be no doubt; the only point on which there can be any question is through what business reverses and financial adversities it must pass before, in self-protection, it is forced back to it.

Since 1873 a new era in our currency legislation has opened. The past has been broken with, and the monetary principles and policy that had led up to, and been incorporated in, the act of February 12, 1873, have been discarded. The single gold standard, with its simplicity and stability, has been destroyed, and the "limping" double standard substituted for it. The ratio in coinage of gold and silver has not been their commercial ratio; the silver coins minted since 1878 will not, when melted down, sell for anything near their value in other coin. Not only have these principles been violated in our coinage laws since 1873, but those of Robert Morris have since that year been utterly disregarded. Since then, our legislators have especially forgotten such aphorisms of the Superintendent of Finance as these: "There is a great impropriety, not to say injustice, in compelling a man to receive a part of his debt in discharge of the whole," and: "The scale by which everything is to be measured ought to be as fixed as the nature of things will permit of."

The adoption of the gold standard by the United States by express provision, in 1873, was the natural culmination and necessary evolution of its monetary arrangements from the time of Hamilton. Starting in 1792, with a perfect bimetallic system, our legislators improved it, where time had impaired it, by the acts of 1834 and 1837, transformed it into the gold monometallic system in 1853, by a change so slight as to be almost imperceptible, and finally, in 1873, embodying in a single act the wisdom of all the others and the monetary lessons of our own, and of all, history, endowed the United States with the single gold standard in its most faultless form.

But, unfortunately, the great work thus created was not allowed to last. Times had changed and men had changed with them, and this

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mutation of the times and of the men is the dividing line between the two great periods of our currency legislation—the period of honesty in the coinage, and the period of dishonesty in the coinage.

Then it was that the inflationists on the one hand, and the "silver men" on the other, began the work of demolition. The period when Congress adopted the gold standard in 1873 was precisely the period when the mines of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, began to produce silver in such quantities that the annual production of the metal was soon doubled. Whatever the interests of the whole country might demand in our monetary system, *theirs* required that silver should be coined as of old, and, together with the inflationists, they led the first onslaught upon the single gold standard—and thus became guilty of the crime of 1878. As has been wittily said by some one, their motto seems to have been: *Fiat money, pereat mundus.* Their first battle was won by the passage of the so-called Bland act of February 28, 1878—in direct opposition to the recommendation of the single gold standard with the silver dollar as a limited legal tender, by the veteran statesman, the Hon. John Sherman, in his "Report" as Secretary of the Treasury in 1877, he being at the time preparing the way for the resumption of specie payments. Under the Bland act, there were coined, at the ratio of 1:16 $378,168,793, whereas the commercial ratio in 1878, when the act was passed, averaged 1:17.94, and in 1890, when it was repealed, 1:19.76. But while these dollars were made legal tender the same as the gold dollar at the rate of $1.00, they never contained more than $0.89,1 worth of silver, and their bullion value sank as low as $0.72,4. The Bland act was passed in response to a demand for the "dollar of the daddies," although its coinage was at variance with all the monetary principles of the "daddies,"—since the dollars minted under it were not stamped at a ratio the same as the commercial ratio, were not worth as much in the form of coin as of bullion,—the difference having been at one time nearly 28 per cent,—and since creditors, by its means, were compelled to receive part of their debts in payment of the whole. Since the worse legal-tender money drives out the better, what chance had an honest gold dollar to stay in circulation with 378,000,000 Bland dollars, in the shape of silver certificates or other form, to drive it out?

The Bland act, which was the first to interrupt the unity and continuity of purpose discernible in our monetary legislation from 1792 to the time of its passage, was followed by one of May 31, 1878, which required that when the legal-tender notes had been redeemed they

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should not be cancelled or retired, but should be again paid out and put in circulation. And just as the Bland act was in conflict with that of February 12, 1873, so the act of May 31, 1878, was in conflict with that of January 14, 1875, authorizing the redemption of legal-tender notes until the amount outstanding should be no more than $300,000,000 (which it was intended should remain, for a time at least, unredeemable), and until their definitive redemption and cancellation after January 1, 1879. When the act of May 31, 1878, was passed, the legal-tender notes outstanding aggregated $346,681,016, and at that figure they still remain, being ever redeemed and ever paid out, but never cancelled. To insure the redemption on presentation of the legal-tender notes, a gold reserve, which at the close of the fiscal year 1888 amounted to more than $193,000,000, has had to be kept in the Treasury. Since then it has shown a continual tendency to decline.

The second onslaught upon the gold standard was made by the act of July 14, 1890, which directed the Secretary to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces per month at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of fine silver; and to issue in payment of such purchase of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States. The act made these Treasury notes legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except when otherwise provided in the contract; required that they should be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues; that when so received they might be reissued; and that upon demand the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem them in gold or silver at his discretion, "it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law." While, by its terms, this act left it discretionary with the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the notes issued under it in gold or in silver, the necessity of carrying out the monetary policy it declared left him no option, when they were presented for redemption, except to exchange them for gold, when gold was demanded. *If this be not the correct legal construction of the act, if the Secretary of the Treasury might elect to pay the notes in silver when gold was demanded for them by the holder, then the act gave the Secretary of the Treasury authority to place the United States upon the single silver standard, to debase its entire currency, invalidate all contracts, and affect for better or worse the fortune of every man, woman, and child within its borders*—a most tremendous, most dangerous, czar-like power—one greater than was ever before granted to mortal by legislative act, which

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was never exercised but once in our history, and then (not granted, but assumed) as a war measure, to save the nation.

Under the act of July 14, 1890, $40,044,044 were coined, and Treasury notes to the amount of $155,930,040 issued. This coinage also was effected at the mint ratio of 1:16, while the average market ratio in 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893 was 1:19.76, 1:20.92, 1:23.72, and 1:26.49, respectively. These coins, like those coined under the act of February 28, 1878, were and are full legal tender for $1.00, while their average bullion value in 1891 was $0.76,4, in 1892 $0.67,4, in 1893 $0.60,4. Thus nearly 40 cents were in 1893, by act of Congress, clipped or sweated out of every one of these silver dollar pieces, as a smaller amount had been sweated out of the Bland dollars; an act which, if done by an individual in England in the last century, would have been punished by hanging, and the penalty of which even now in the United States—except when committed by Congress—is imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not more than two years, and a fine of not more than two thousand dollars.

As stamped since 1878, the United States silver dollar is in fact a token coin, just as much as a 10-cent piece or a 5-cent nickel piece. A token coin is one whose metallic value is inferior to its value in the form of a coin; and which on that account is made legal tender only to a limited amount. Its essential characteristic, however, is that it is overvalued in the coinage; and the silver dollars being thus overvalued are essentially token not standard coins; for a standard coin is one of which the value in exchange depends solely upon the value of the material contained in it. "We may," says Jevons, "treat such coins as bullion and melt them up or export them to countries where they are not legally current; yet the value of the metal, being independent of legislation, will everywhere be recognized." The metallic value of our 5-cent nickel pieces is 3.6 mills, of our 1-cent copper pieces 1.4 mills. Both our nickel and our copper coins are legal tender to the amount of 25 cents. At the average price of silver in 1895 the metallic value of our 50-cent piece was 23.656 cents, and of our quarters and dimes 11.8285 cents, and 4.73 cents, respectively. The metallic value of the miscalled standard silver dollar, at the average price of silver in 1895, was 50.587 cents. Being nearly 50 per cent below its nominal value, it was just as much a token coin as our copper, nickel, and fractional silver coins; yet the fractional silver coins are legal tender to the amount of only ten dollars, while the silver dollars must be received by the creditor in discharge of any debt, no matter how large, be it $20

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or $20,000,000. It is plain to any unprejudiced mind that the false principle of finance which decrees that silver coins worth only 50½ cents shall be received by creditors at the rate of 100 cents, might just as well decree that nickel coins should be unlimited legal tender at the rate of 20 nickel pieces, intrinsically worth 7.2 cents, to the dollar. And it would be just as logical to demand the free coinage of nickel as it is to demand the free coinage of silver 50-cent dollars, with the payment power of whole dollars. Who would be benefited by such a free coinage of nickel? The owners of the metal and dishonest debtors determined to discharge, in dross, debts contracted in gold—to bankrupt their creditors by the payment of 7.2 cents on the dollar.

No evil results attend the circulation of our nickel and copper token coins, nor of our fractional silver coins, because they are only limited legal tender. Our silver dollars, being in fact token coins, should, as becomes their character, be of limited legal tender to prevent their working mischief. Like other token coins, however, they are, under our present monetary arrangements, exchangeable in the form of Treasury notes for coins of a higher order, namely, for gold dollars, by the United States Treasury; and it is mainly to exchange the silver-dollar token coins, or their representatives, for gold that we have borrowed in about two years $250,000,000—$125,000,000 per year—an annual expenditure likely to continue—to the ruin of our commerce and the impoverishment of our people; for the interest and principal of these loans must be met by the taxation of our people.

There are many inconsistent, illogical, and dangerous features in our present monetary system, and many contradictions and anomalies in our currency laws; but perhaps the most inconsistent, illogical, and dangerous of them all is that, while the act of July 14, 1890, declares it to be the policy of the United States to keep gold and silver at par with each other, and the legal-tender Treasury notes issued under its provisions, therefore, at par with gold, it has provided the Secretary of the Treasury with no means adequate to that end. When specie payments were resumed on January 1, 1879, the only uncovered currency which the Treasury was required to redeem in coin was the "greenbacks" which, then as now, amounted to $346,681,016. The Hon. John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, believed that a gold reserve of $100,000,000, or thereabouts, would be sufficient to maintain these $346,681,016 at par, and the gold reserve intended for redemptions was always above that amount so long as there was no great increase in the amount of paper redeemable by the Government

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on presentation. But an additional amount of Treasury notes of $155,930,940 was issued under the act of July 14, 1890, $136,314,280 of which were on March 19, 1896, outstanding, making the total direct obligations of the Government in use as money $482,995,296. Yet the redemption at all times of this last amount of notes is not the only task imposed upon our gold reserve of $100,000,000. As under the laws of February 28, 1878, July 14, 1890, and March 3, 1891, $423,289,309 in full legal-tender silver have been coined, against which $333,456,236 in certificates were outstanding in 1895, and as the act of July 14, 1890, has declared it to be the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other, we have a total superstructure of $816,451,532 in notes, exclusive of more than $200,000,000 national-bank notes, resting on the frail basis of a gold reserve of $100,000,000, which, more than once, has fallen below $60,000,000. What a commentary on the expensive nature of our monetary system that, to keep this frail foundation in repair, it has been necessary within the space of a little over two years to borrow gold to the amount of $250,000,000; and that without adding in the slightest to its firmness! Yet to borrow gold for this purpose or to violate the spirit, and perhaps the letter, of the law of July 14, 1890, and plunge the entire country into financial and perhaps industrial and commercial chaos, was the only alternative left the Administration. They courageously did their duty, however, saved the nation's credit and safeguarded its business interests—and for doing so have received the malediction of a part of their patriotic and grateful countrymen!

That the increased burden put upon the gold reserve by the act of July 14, 1890, tended to greatly reduce it is shown by the following table giving the amount of the reserve at the end of the four fiscal years preceding, and of the four following, the passage of the act:

Years ended June 30.	Amount of the gold reserve.	Years ended June 30.	Amount of the gold reserve.
1887	$186,754,217	1891	$117,667,723
1888	193,610,172	1892	114,342,366
1889	186,711,560	1893	95,485,414
1890	190,232,404	1894	64,873,025

Is it any wonder that our credit should be affected when the very keystone of our whole monetary system, the gold reserve, dwindles to the danger point?

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Reference was made above to the expensiveness of our monetary system—$250,000,000 in about two years to maintain the gold reserve. But that is not the only item of expense. Since 1879 the average amount of the reserve at the close of the fiscal year has been $137,941,582. The interest on this sum at 4 per cent for 17 years is $93,800,271. The silver purchased under the Bland and the Sherman acts cost $464,210,262.96. At the average price of silver in 1895—$0.65,406 per ounce fine—that same silver was worth only $300,832,739.31. The loss by depreciation has been, therefore, $163,377,523.65. Up to March 13, 1896, the amount of greenbacks fully redeemed since January 1, 1879, was $386,161,943. But as these $386,161,943 were again reissued, they are in the nature of a new forced loan which must yet be paid, and therefore charged as part of the cost of our present monetary system. The expenditure account accordingly stands thus:

Borrowed to maintain the reserve	$250,000,000
Interest on the averge reserve for 17 years	93,800,271
Depreciation of silver purchased under Bland and Sherman acts	163,377,523
Legal tenders redeemed but reissued	386,161,943
Total cost since 1879	$893,339,737

This is an enormous expenditure for the maintenance of a monetary system which is not worth preserving, which is a continual menace to the business and welfare of the country, pregnant with danger and disaster in times of peace, and an element of weakness when war clouds gather. A few years hence, if the same causes are allowed to operate,—that is, if the legal tenders and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion under the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, are not retired and cancelled,—the cost of our monetary system since 1879 will doubtless exceed $1,000,000,000, or fully as much as the enormous sum France had to pay to Germany as an indemnity after the war of 1870–1871, and over one hundred and fifty millions more than one third of our national debt, after the close of our terrible civil war, when (August 31, 1865) it amounted to $2,844,649,626.56—the highest figures it has ever reached. We have already wasted nearly $900,000,000 on the worst monetary system possessed by any great commercial nation at the present time—a sum sufficient to give us a navy vastly superior to England's, and to erect coast defences from Alaska to the extreme southern boundary of California, from Texas to Florida, and from Florida to Maine. And what have we to

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show for it? A monetary system that is an evil, not a benefit, one without a friend or an advocate—which both the friends of a sound currency and the friends of silver are anxious either to destroy or to reform.

Yet, vast as has been the cost of our monetary system since 1879, it is probably small compared with the loss to the United States caused by the panic which began in 1893, raged all through 1894, which has yet scarcely subsided, and which was provoked, not perhaps exclusively, but, certainly chiefly, by the instability of our gold reserve and the further concessions which it was feared would be made to the silver interest—a crisis which in the amount of damage it caused was more disastrous, absolutely if not relatively, than either that of 1857 or that of 1837.

In its beginning the panic of 1893 was financial and not commercial. The debates in Congress on free coinage had alarmed capital in this country and the holders of our securities in Europe. The chief characteristic of that panic is that the effects of a very serious crisis suddenly appeared without the overtrading and overproduction that generally precedes one, without there being anything in the political situation to disturb the market,—in short, without real or apparent cause to warrant the magnitude of the excitement, or to explain the violence of the shock. The more closely one studies the history of the panic of 1893, the firmer becomes one's conviction that it originated in the uncertainty that prevailed at home and abroad as to what was to be our future unit of value, the gold dollar, or the silver dollar whose bullion value at the close of that year was only 60 cents and 4 mills. It was well known in Europe, as it was here, that with a gold reserve of $100,000,000 we had to insure the convertibility of notes amounting to more than $800,000,000, exclusive of $200,000,000 of national-bank notes. The task was deemed impossible there as it was here. The memory of the Baring collapse in 1890, the suspension of the free coinage of silver in India in 1893, and the continued agitation in favor of silver in this country, had disseminated over the whole financial world the fear that the United States might, at any moment, be unable to meet its obligations in gold.

The United States is not shut off from the rest of the world by any Chinese wall. We have to concern ourselves not only with the sentiment of our own people, but with the sentiment of the trans-Atlantic world which is our creditor. Europe has invested in our government bonds, our railway bonds, our industrial and other

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securities an amount of money which is estimated by competent judges at between $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000; and, like every other creditor, Europe wants to feel sure that she shall have the principal and interest paid in gold dollars, not in silver dollars worth only 50 cents or thereabouts. We are too prone to look only at the imports and exports of such things as can be weighed, and measured, and valued, at the custom house. We know that we export more than we import, and some among us are ingenuous enough to wonder why, that being the case, Europe's gold does not flow toward us, instead of ours flowing to Europe. We lose sight of the $75,000,000 to $100,000,000 that American travellers spend every year in Europe, of the other $100,000,000, more or less, paid by American commerce to other nations, principally to England, for freight, and the $150,000,000 or more which we have to pay to Europe in dividends, interest, etc. The so-called balance of trade may be in our favor to the amount of $300,000,000 or $350,000,000, perhaps more, and yet not a dollar in gold be shipped to us from Europe. If, in addition to all we have to pay to Europe annually, we have to take back our securities, because, on account of our currency condition, Europe has lost faith in them, we must necessarily be drained of very large amounts of gold. This it was that caused the exportation of gold in 1893, and the crisis of that year. Alarm lest debts should be paid at 50, 60, or 70 cents on the dollar, because of the United States being driven on a silver basis, was responsible for it all.

We may look for disasters of a similar nature—on a larger or smaller scale—whenever our gold reserve dwindles to such proportions as to menace a premium on gold—which is synonymous with the single silver standard; and we shall be so menaced, no matter how often our gold reserve is replenished by a new issue of bonds, so long as the means of draining the Treasury of its gold—the legal tenders especially—are outstanding. Until their retirement the gold vaults of the Treasury cannot be kept full nor the gold reserve intact, though all the wealth of the gold mines of Australia, South Africa, and America should be piled into them. As well pour the waters of the ocean into a bottomless barrel with the expectation of its overflowing.

J. J. Lalor.

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